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THE

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

SURTEES SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XXXIV.



VOL. LII.

FOR THE YEAR M.DCCC.LXVIII.

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THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN COSIN, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM:

TOGETHER WITH

OTHER PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

PART I.

Published for the Society

BY ANDREWS & CO., DURHAM;

WHITTAKER & CO., 13, AVE MARIA LANE; T. & W. BOONE, 29, NEW BOND STREET; BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY, LONDON;

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1869.

At a General Meeting of the Surtees Society, held in the Castle of Durham, on Tuesday, June 5th, 1866, the Rev. Temple Chevallier in the chair, it was

Ordered, That a Volume of the Letters, &c., of Bishop Cosin should be prepared by the Rev. George Ornsby.

JAMES RAINE,

Secretary.

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INTRODUCTION.

The collection of papers, illustrative of the life of Bishop Cosin, now presented to the members of the Surtees Society, has been gathered from various sources. It had long been known that the Mickleton MSS., a valuable collection, which was added to the Episcopal Library at Durham by the munificence of Bishop Barrington *, contained much interesting matter connected with Cosin's life and times. The Council of the Society therefore authorized the Editor to seek permission to make such extracts from that collection as might seem desirable for the purposes of the present volume, and also to gather together, from other repositories, any correspondence or papers which might, in his judgment, be available for that object, rightly deeming that any thing relating to so eminent a man could scarcely fail to be interesting.

It will be found, therefore, that, in addition to the material furnished by the Mickleton Collection, there are papers which have been extracted from the stores contained in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Public Record Office. The heading of each paper gives a reference to the repository in which the original document may be found.

It will be observed that some Papers of much interest are described as having been copied from original manuscripts in the Editor's possession. This requires explanation. Many years ago the Editor's friend, Mr. Stevenson, now of the Public Record Office, was interested in collecting any MSS. or rare

* See Surtees' Hist. Durh. iv. pt. ii. p. 138.

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printed books, which bore upon the history of Bishop Cosin. From Cochran, a bookseller in the Strand, he obtained an early edition of Smart's celebrated Sermon, and a copy of "The Doctor's last Will and Testament," a Tract of great rarity; and from Rodd, of Newport Street, a well-known dealer in old books and manuscripts, he purchased, together with some other papers of minor importance, the Visitation Articles, and the Tractate on Transubstantiation, given in the present Volume. Both of these are unquestionably in Cosin's handwriting. The latter paper possesses peculiar interest, being in all probability the germ of his celebrated History of Transubstantiation.

When Mr. Stevenson heard that the Editor was employed upon the present Volume, it occurred to him that some of the material he had heretofore collected for his own purposes might prove useful, and with ready kindness he placed a number of papers at the Editor's disposal. Of these some proved to be copies of letters, &c., in the Mickleton Collection, of which the Editor had already made transcripts, whilst others were documents which had already been printed in the collection of Cosin's works, published in the Anglo-Catholic Library. But the original manuscripts, and the scarce Tract and Sermon just mentioned, together with several memoranda about Cosin, were gladly welcomed by the Editor, and he takes this opportunity of offering to an old friend his most grateful thanks. His acknowledgments are due to him, also, for much valuable information, invariably communicated with a kindness which adds to its value.

The other papers contained in this Volume seem scarcely to demand any particular explanation. A brief sketch of the more prominent incidents in Cosin's life will, however, tend to render the whole more intelligible.

John Cosin, one of the most eminent and learned of the long line of Prelates who have occupied the Episcopal chair of the lordly See of Durham, was the eldest son of Giles Cosin of Norwich, and was born in that city on St. Andrew's Day, 1595. His paternal descent was respectable *. His father was an

* Surtees says (Hist. Durh. i. pt. i. p. cvi.) that Giles Cosin was descended from the family of Cosyn of Seven-Burnhams, in the county of Norfolk, but does not give

opulent person, who apparently carried on some trade or business in the city of Norwich, and is said to have been much esteemed by his fellow-citizens as a man of singular probity and excellence of character*. His mother's name was Elizabeth Remington, whose ancestors seem to have ranked amongst the gentry of the county of Norfolk †. Both parents are described as having been devout and conscientious members of the Church of England.

Little is recorded of his early years, except that for the rudiments of his education he was indebted to the Grammar School of his native city. When he was thirteen years of age his father died, leaving him several houses, which he gave up to his mother, reserving only 20*l.* yearly for his maintenance at the University ‡. On completing the fourteenth year of his age, he was sent to Cambridge, to Gonville and Caius College §, of which Dr. Branthwayt was then Master. Here he went through the ordinary academical course, proceeding regularly

his authority. The name is certainly one of considerable antiquity and respectability in that county. Roger Cosyn is mentioned in the *Quo warranto* Rolls in the time of Edward I., and in 1314 the same individual, or one of the same names, occurs as lord of the manor of Elyngham Magna. See Bloomfield's Norfolk, ii. p. 267; see also i. p. 485, and ii. p. 491. In 1322 King Edward II. granted to John Cosyn, of Norwich, licence to found a chantry in the parish of St. Peter Mancroft, for two priests daily to celebrate Divine Service, endowing it with messuages in Norwich, and lands and tenements in Erlham. See Inq. *ad quod damn.* 12 Edw. II. n. 106; 17 Edw. II. n. 150. The history of this chantry may be found in Bloomfield's Hist. Norf. iv. p. 201. See also the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* iii. p. 294, for the value at the suppression.

* Smith describes him as "melioris notæ civem, et ob lautiorem fortunam, egregiam probitatem, candidosque mores apud suos valdè celebrem."—Vita Joannis Cosini, episcopi Dunelmensis; Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S.T.D., &c. Lond. 1707. p. 1.

† She is said to have been descended from the Remingtons of Castle Remington. The name occurs more than once in connexion with Norwich. In the nave of St. Andrew's church in that city, is the monument of Rebecca Remyngton, who died in 1604, and the same church possesses amongst its Communion plate a handsome standing cup, the gift of Mr. Nathaniel Remyngton, alderman. See Bloomfield's Hist. Norf. iv. pp. 305. 313.

It is probable that "Elizabeth Coossin, widdow," who was "buryed December 8, 1644" (Reg. St. Andrew's, Norwich), was the Bishop's mother.

‡ From a paper preserved in Gutch's Coll. Cur. ii. num. iv. p. 18. See also Cosin's Works (Ang. Cath. Library), iv. p. 469.

§ Four scholarships in Caius College are appropriated to the city of Norwich, into one of which he was chosen.—Ibid.

to his B.A. and M.A. degrees. He was soon after elected one of the Fellows of that Society.

That his academical career had been one of diligent and careful study, and that his early manhood gave promise of future eminence, is abundantly testified by the desire that was expressed by two of the most eminent scholars of that, or any other period of our Church, to receive him into their respective households. Andrewes, at that time Bishop of Ely, was one, and Overall, then Bishop of Lichfield, was the other. Both, moreover, were desirous to secure his services for a like office, that of Librarian. We cannot have a better proof of the reputation in which his acquirements were held. By the advice of his tutor he attached himself to Overall, in the double capacity of Secretary and Librarian. The duties of the latter office would be entered into *con amore*, for the acquisition of books was, to the end of life, one of the most absorbing of his pursuits *, whilst for those of the former the beauty of his penmanship gave him no mean qualification. He possessed, moreover, great sagacity, a shrewd insight into character, untiring industry, and more than ordinary capacity for business. Nature had likewise given him a prepossessing exterior, so that we cannot be surprised when we are told by one of his biographers that he endeared himself day by day to his patron, and secured and merited his fullest confidence.

To be placed, so early in life, in such intimate relations with a man like Overall, was indeed a position which might well be coveted. The reputation of that Prelate's learning was not limited by the boundaries of his own land. Grotius and Vossius were amongst his correspondents, and by both those eminent scholars was he held in the highest estimation.

Profound as was Overall's learning, it is not the only thing for which his memory deserves to be venerated by all loyal sons

* When in exile, and partly dependent on the bounty of his Royalist friends in England, we find him employing part of a seasonable supply, remitted to him through Sancroft's hands, in making additions to his library: "*totus enim sum*," as he tells his friendly correspondent, "*in conquirendis bonis libris*." See No. cxii. p. 287. And in his latter years, when Bishop of Durham, he was the founder of a noble library at Durham, which is still known by his name.

of the Church of England. It is no exaggeration to say that our Church owes him a debt of gratitude at the present hour; for it may scarcely be doubted that to the influence of his theological teaching we greatly owe our exemption, as a Church, from the narrow, unscriptural, and unloving spirit which is symbolized by the Lambeth Articles. The Church of England, at the commencement of her post-reformation history,—at all events from the accession of Elizabeth,—was undoubtedly, in the main, Calvinistic. The religious atmosphere of Oxford was Calvinistic in the extreme. Laurence Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity in that University from 1560 to 1589, was a disciple of Zuingle, and a correspondent of Calvin, and "sowed in the Divinity Schools," as we are told, "such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in the younger men such a strong hate against the Papists, as if nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations to be seen in the other." Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, held the same views; and when Whitgift succeeded to the Primacy, the weight of his influence was thrown into that side of the scale. It may easily be imagined, therefore, that the distinctive principles of Calvin were diligently taught to, and not unwillingly accepted by, a very large proportion of those who were preparing themselves for the ministry of the Church.

Peter Baro, the learned Frenchman who occupied the Lady Margaret's Divinity chair in 1596, and who in that year preached a *clerum* at Cambridge in opposition to the Calvinistic views which were so strongly set forth by Whitaker, was probably the first who gave a very strong impulse to the growth of opposite views. These views were, however, so distasteful to the leading members of the University, that he shortly afterwards retired from Cambridge altogether. Yet the seed sown was not unfruitful; and when, upon the death of Whitaker in the same year, Overall became Regius Professor of Divinity, the teaching which Baro unsuccessfully endeavoured to promulgate, was carried on by a new, but equally learned advocate. That Overall's teaching exercised a powerful influence upon the minds of many, who, like Cosin, were destined afterwards to

fill high and prominent positions in the Church, cannot be questioned. Hacket records, in his Life of Lord Keeper Williams, that the subject of his biography "did heartily acknowledge that the hand of God did go with him, that Dr. Overal was the King's Professor in the chair of Divinity in his years of soft wax, from whom he took such a right orthodox impression of stating Theological controversies *." Cosin always mentions him with profound respect, as "my lord and master Overall," and acknowledges his obligations to him on many occasions. Richard Mountagu, also, that eminently learned man, whose writings provoked such a storm of fury from the Puritanical party in the Church, and who was one of Cosin's earliest and closest friends, speaks of him with equal reverence, as "that Reverend Prelate and most accomplished Divine (whose memorie shall ever be pretious with all good and learned men), the late Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Overall †."

But the connexion between Overall and Cosin was of short duration. The former died in 1619, leaving his Secretary to deplore the loss of one whom he deeply revered, and from whose patronage he doubtless hoped for much.

To have been associated with so eminent a person in such intimate relations was, nevertheless, at once a guarantee and a passport,—an unquestionable guarantee of ability and learning, and a passport to other employments, involving similar duties and like responsibilities. No long time elapses before we find Cosin occupying the place of Domestic Chaplain in the household of Richard Neile, who then presided over the See of

* Life, p. 10. He goes on to say, "I asked him on a time, what it was that pleased him in Dr. Overal above all others whom he heard to handle Determinations of Divine points in a scholastical form? He gave me this answer: because, First, Dr. Overal was used to prove his conclusion out of two or three texts of Scripture at the most, and no more, being such places upon whose right interpretation the judgment of the cause did chiefly depend. Secondly, that above all men that ever he heard, he did most pertinently quote the Fathers, both to the right sense of their phrase, which few did understand, and out of those their treatises, wherein, especially, they handled the cause for which he appealed unto them. And, Thirdly, when he had fixed what was prime and principal truth in any debate, with great meekness and sweetness he gave copious latitude to his auditors, how far they might dissent, keeping the foundation sure, without breach of charity."

† *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 31.

Durham, and to him he was indebted for his first connexion with a diocese, over which he himself was destined hereafter to rule, and with which his name can never cease to be associated *.

Bishop Neile appears to have had no pretensions to learning and scholarship. He is described as "*mediocriter doctus, sed predicator mirabilis*," a combination not altogether without example, for readiness of speech and grace of delivery have often been known to co-exist with but a slender amount of deep and solid learning. Yet if he possessed not learning himself, it is abundantly clear that he could recognize and appreciate it in others. Durham House, the London palace of the Bishops of Durham, was the home of some, and the frequent resort of many, whose names must ever be numbered amongst the most eminent and learned sons of the Church of England. So notoriously, indeed, was this the case, that it was popularly called Durham College. Nor need we wonder, when we read the list of those names which were inscribed, as it were, upon its books. "It was large enough," says Heylyn, "to allow sufficient quarters for Buckridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Laud, Dean of Glocester, which he enjoyed when he was Bishop of St. David's also; some other quarters were reserved for his old servant, Dr. Linsell, and others for such learned men of his acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him †." He might have added Cosin, who, as Neile's domestic chaplain, was an almost constant inmate, and Richard Mountagu, whose name has been already mentioned, a man of vigorous intellect

* It would appear that at one time Cosin entertained some idea of returning to Cambridge, and residing permanently in the University. His friend Oliver Naylor's advice, however, prevailed, and he "followed his hopes" with his patron, Bishop Neile. See p. 19.

† Heylyn's Cyp. Angl. p. 69. Durham House must have been capable of accommodating a very large household. During the early part of Charles I.'s reign the French Embassy appears to have been accommodated in it for a time, much to Bishop Neile's annoyance, who complains very bitterly of their having made use of his chapel for Mass, and of the difficulty he had had in preventing persons who were not attached to the Embassy from having access to the chapel when it was used for that purpose.—Cf. Bishop Neile's Vindication of himself from the charge of Popery. Hunter MSS. lxxvii. 14. Mountagu probably alludes to this trouble of Neile's in his letter to Cosin of Aug. 26 [1626]. See hereafter, p. 102.

Durham House was built by Bishop Hatfield (1345—1381). It was in the Strand, on the site now occupied by the buildings of the Adelphi.

and varied learning, whose friendship for Cosin, and whose appreciation of Bishop Neile's kindness and protection during some troubled years of his chequered life, are abundantly testified by many characteristic letters which are embodied in the Collection now given.

These letters, it is apprehended, will be regarded as a valuable portion of the series of Papers, illustrative of Cosin's life, now published by the Surtees Society *. Besides throwing a new light upon the earlier period of his life, they are singularly interesting in themselves, full of character and full of learning. The writer was a man of no small mark in a period when profound erudition was a distinguishing characteristic of the higher clergy of our Church. He was an acute controversialist, and no mean antagonist for either Romanist or Puritan to measure weapons withal. Unsparing and bitter he was, without question, scornful and contemptuous, especially as regarded his Puritan adversaries, upon whom he evidently looked down with a lofty disdain, which is often expressed in these familiar letters in a manner which is not a little amusing. Yet he was a man of infinite tenderness of feeling, and had all the warmth of heart which so often accompanies an impetuous and impatient temperament. Witness his grief for the loss of his Royal Master, his bitter distress when his daughter, his "little Mall"—as he fondly calls her—was at death's door, and when his wife was supposed to be in extremity, and the confidence with which he sought, and no doubt obtained, the sympathy of his correspondent. The Letters are remarkable, moreover, for their vigorous and racy English. Words and expressions will be noticed in them, some all but forgotten even as provincialisms, which are full of meaning †.

* The arrangement of this part of the Correspondence has been attended with considerable difficulty. In dating his letters Mountagu never adds the year. The Editor has therefore had nothing but internal evidence to guide him in his endeavour to place them in chronological order, and this evidence is often very slight. The Editor can scarcely venture to hope that he has been uniformly successful in assigning each letter to its proper year, but he can conscientiously say that he has spared no pains to ensure, if it may be, a correct arrangement.

† The Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, of St. John's College, Cambridge, tells the Editor that Mountagu's Works have already been read for the Dictionary of the Philological Society.

It is much to be regretted that Cosin's part of this correspondence has not been preserved. Mountagu seems advisedly to have destroyed the letters he received from his friend, and to have wished him to do the same *, fortunately without success, for, as has been already mentioned, that portion which has escaped destruction throws light upon a subject which much engaged the attention of Cosin during the earlier portion of his active life. It has long been known that he took a prominent part in the Conferences that took place at York House respecting Mountagu's books †, but, as far as the Editor is aware, it has not been known that he had a great deal to do with their production. Mountagu's letters are conclusive upon this point. It is clear that every page passed under Cosin's eye. He was to alter, to add, to do what he would, and we may almost infer that whole passages were due to his pen. "Change it as you will" (p. 43). "I give you free leave and liberty" (p. 66). "Mend what you will, marre what you list" (ibid.), are Mountagu's words with reference to his friend's alterations ‡. Nothing can more fully show the reputation which Cosin had acquired whilst yet a young man, for when his correspondence with Mountagu first commenced he was under thirty years of age, and Mountagu was many years his senior.

This literary partnership, if the expression may be allowed, is worthy of notice, for more reasons than one, when forming an estimate of Cosin's ability and character. It not only indicates the opinion which older men, of unquestionable talent and learning, must have entertained of his powers, but it also shows that,

* See No. XLVIII. p. 79. See also p. 96.

† Cf. Cosin's Works, ii. p. 17, *et seqq.* (Angl. Cath. Library).

‡ Mountagu seems to have admitted that he had received assistance during the progress of the *Appello Cæsarem*, though the secret appears to have been well kept as to the name of his coadjutor. "Bishop Mountagu, as I am told from a very good hand, did very lately write a letter to my Lord of Canterbury wherein he did not only subscribe to the Council of Dort, but also did reject five tenets of Arminianism, and professed that all that book called 'An Appeal to Cæsar,' was not his writing, but part was written by some other, which he would discover when occasion should require."—Letter of Mr. Pory to Jos. Mead, Dec. 12, 1628.—Court and Times of Charles I. i. p. 449. The Editor of that publication supposes that this "other" might be Christopher Sutton, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, but there can be no doubt that Cosin was the person.

young as he then was, he had some share in the formation of a school of theological opinion in the English Church whose effects are recognizable at the present hour. The most cursory reader of English history needs not to be told of the ferment which was caused by the appearance of the *Answer to the Gagger*, and the *Appello Cæsarem*. The whole of the Puritanical party, clerical and lay—a party of formidable proportions—were in arms, and united as one man, to demand that the author of such pernicious books, teaching, as they alleged, Popery and Arminianism *, should be visited with condign punishment; and had it not been for the personal influence and friendship of the Duke of Buckingham, and the resolute manner in which Mountagu was protected by the King, it is more than probable that he would have dearly paid for his temerity in promulgating so boldly opinions which were so unpalatable.

The book called *Appello Cæsarem* was the one against which the animosity of the party was chiefly directed, because in it the writer justified the arguments he had used in his former publication, and laid down, in unmistakable terms, what he conceived to be the genuine teaching of the Church of England, showing its identity with that of the Church Universal, and fortifying his position by the evidence of Christian antiquity and the careful and well-weighed words of the most eminently learned Divines of subsequent ages of the Church.

Mountagu was in truth the advanced guard of that body of Divines of which Laud is commonly regarded as the leader. His *Appello Cæsarem* is now read, probably, by few,—though it well repays perusal, for it embodies those principles which, in a more or less pronounced form, were then held by all to whom the teaching of Puritanism appeared, not only inconclusive, but inconsistent with the claims of the Church of England to be regarded as a true branch of the Church Catholic, and which are advocated now by all who in like manner, and for similar reasons, are repelled by the negations of ultra-Protestantism.

* Mountagu very strongly repudiated the charge of Arminianism, declaring that when he wrote these books he had never read a word of Arminius's writings. Cf. *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 11. He makes a similar statement in a letter to Cosin. See hereafter, p. 90.

The ability of the book, the pungency of its style, the force of its arguments, and the learning by which they are supported, may be measured by the vehement opposition and the angry protests which it met with at the hands of the most eminent leaders of the Puritan party. Nor can we be surprised at the *animus* which was displayed. If Mountagu was right, they must have felt that the position of Puritanism was utterly untenable. Every effort therefore was made, *per fas aut nefas*, to crush the author, and, if possible, obliterate his teaching by the burning of his books*.

In this, as has already been indicated, his opponents were unsuccessful. The circulation of the *Appello Cæsarem* remained unchecked, and Mountagu was not long afterwards promoted to a Bishopric. But it was a victory which neither led to conquest nor to triumph, for it has been the opinion of many that the exacerbation of feeling caused by this publication contributed much to the ultimate domination of the Puritan element in the Church, and to the prostration, for a time, of that Church's distinctive discipline and doctrine. It is not a little remarkable that Laud, with prescient sagacity, appears to have apprehended this result. "I seeme to see a cloud arising, and threatning the Church of England: God in his mercy dissipate it!" Such are his words in an entry in his Diary concerning "the cause, book, and opinions of Richard Mountagu." Yet those opinions ultimately regained a greater sway than could possibly have been predicated when the Church was trodden under foot of her enemies. His fellow-helper, after a long and weary term of exile, lived to advocate them with the ripened wisdom of lengthened years and the authority attaching to the dignity of the Episcopate; and, in our own day, they probably have a deeper hold upon the mind of our Church at large, and a more vigorous life, than at any previous period since the Reformation†. *Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe, extingui nunquam.*

* See No. XLIII. p. 71.

† It may perhaps be alleged by some that there is as wide a divergence now between the High and Low Churchman as there was then between men like Mountagu, Cosin, or Laud, and their Puritan opponents. In some respects, no doubt, this may be the case, but as regards many points of difference, especially

The share which Cosin had in Mountagu's book, and the number of letters, addressed to him by the latter, and now for the first time published, may excuse this digression. We will now pursue the thread of his own individual history.

The first preferment which Cosin received from Bishop Neile was the Mastership of Greatham Hospital, in 1624; and to this was added, shortly afterwards, a stall in Durham Cathedral. The Mastership he resigned, almost immediately, in favour of Gabriel Clark, Prebendary and Archdeacon of Durham, and became Rector of Elwick by exchange with that dignitary. In September, 1625, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the East Riding of York, and in the following year he was presented to the Rectory of Brancepeth, in the county of Durham, a preferment which he owed to the influence of Laud and the Duke of Buckingham. He acknowledges his obligation to both these eminent persons in a letter addressed to the former, which will be found in this Correspondence. (No. LXXV. p. 138.) He proceeded to B.D. about the same time.

Shortly after obtaining these preferments Cosin married. On the 13th of August, 1626, he was united to Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Blakiston *, of Newton Hall, near Durham,

with respect to externals, the stamp which the former impressed upon our Church has been ineffaceable. Much is now accepted without the slightest scruple which then provoked the most strenuous opposition. For example, there may be those amongst us who hold views respecting the Holy Eucharist not much higher, possibly, than those of Zuingle, yet they would never think of disturbing the decent arrangement which separates the Lord's Table from the rest of the Church, and gives it a prominence of position which typifies the dignity of that Holy Sacrament. And those who entertain the lowest views of the Christian priesthood scruple not to wear the surplice, as the distinctive garb of those who have authority to minister in the congregation. Yet the Puritan clergyman of Cosin's earlier days objected as strongly to the compulsory use of that vesture as his modern representative would deprecate an order from his Bishop to wear a chasuble; and, as we well know, few of Laud's acts provoked more opposition than his ordering the Lord's Table to be placed altar-wise, and protected by rails from acts of irreverence on the part of the laity, which would now, happily, meet with the reprobation of all, whether High or Low (Cf. Heylin's Cyp. Angl. p. 272). Many, who are not slow to cast reproach upon Laud and his friends, owe more to them than they are themselves aware of; and this, not with respect to outward ceremonial only, but as regards doctrinal teaching likewise.

* "1626. Johannes Cosyn, Pastor de Elwick, et Domina Francisca Blakiston, filia Dom. Marmaduci Blakiston, de Newton, nupt. Aug. 13."—Reg. St. Margaret's Crossgate.

Prebendary of Durham *. By this alliance he became connected with one of the most ancient houses in the Bishopric. "Few families of private gentry," says Surtees, "have spread more widely, or flourished fairer, than Blakiston."—Hist. Durh. iii. p. 160.

Brancepeth, being only about six miles from Durham, was a very convenient situation, and it possessed also many other advantages. Accordingly we find that Cosin made it his usual residence whenever his presence was not required in Durham by the duties of his prebendal stall, or when he was not in attendance as domestic chaplain at Durham House or Auckland Castle.

Cosin was not a man to discharge any of his duties in a perfunctory manner. No prebendary of Durham, either before or since, has probably surpassed him in regularity of attendance, or in careful discharge of the duties of that office. He was a thorough man of business; his name is always found on the list of those who attended the meetings of the Chapter, and no dispensation for non-residence is ever recorded. With careful diligence he compared the various charters and evidences preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral with the *Repertorium magnum*, or great catalogue of its contents, which had been compiled by their former possessors, and an occasional "*deest*" in the margin, in his hand-writing, witnesses to the industry with which he must have prosecuted his search through that large mass of manuscripts, and the accuracy with which he noted the presence or the absence of each separate document.

Concerning the discharge of his duties as a parish-priest we have less direct evidence, but enough still remains in Brancepeth Church to testify his care for the House of God; and the minute and particular inquiries which, as Archdeacon, he instituted into the conduct and character of the Clergy over whom he was placed as *oculus Episcopi*, can scarcely have proceeded from one

* Marmaduke Blakiston's preferments were many, even in those days of pluralities. He was Vicar of Woodhorne, Rector of Redmarshall, Rector of Sedgefield, and Prebendary of the 7th stall (both which he resigned in favour of his son Robert Blakiston), Archdeacon of the East Riding (which he resigned in favour of his future son-in-law), and Prebendary of Wistow. Peter Smart has a fling at the number of his preferments in the Articles he exhibited against Cosin and his allies in the Chapter.—See p. 185.

who was not careful to show, in his own person, a living example which they might safely follow.

And there was no dallying with his work. He lost no time, after his appointment, in placing himself in communication with Mr. Claphamson, a Notary-public at York, who seems to have had a long official connection with the Archdeaconry. The new Archdeacon received no very encouraging account of the state in which he would find the Clergy:—"I fynd," says Claphamson, "great defect in the performance of reall duties, and if a man use lawfull meanes to compell them to do what they ought, then do they exclame and rayle as if they had injustice done." (P. 82.) He complains also of grievous inattention, on the part of Impropriators, to the proper repair of the Chancels of the Churches.

Claphamson sends for Cosin's perusal, and, if he thought fit, for his adoption, "a booke of Articles, such as the Archdeacons have used to minister in the Visitations within this dioces." If he took them as a ground-work, he certainly recast them after his own fashion, for the Articles given in this volume bear every mark of having been his own drawing up. The original MS. is clearly his rough draft, altered and amended in various places, and different, in many respects, from the copy which was printed in 1627, and which is included in the Collection of his Works published in the Anglo-Catholic Library. (Vol. ii. p. 1.)

Many of the Articles are worth noting for the indirect information which we may glean from them with regard to the morals and discipline of the Clergy of that period. Lax habits of life must have been far from uncommon. Many must have ministered without having had episcopal ordination, and a hint is given that one of the gravest scandals which could possibly attach to the character of the Episcopate was not altogether unknown. A query is put demanding whether there is either knowledge or suspicion of the Priest or Curate of any parish having "come to his sacred Orders by any corrupt meanes, either of gift for the present, or promise of reward for the future." (P. 108.) The particularity of the query as to the *daily* saying of the Service by the Clergy (p. 110) is noteworthy, as is also that which marks the distinctive character of the Litany, which is to be said

"kneeling forward in the mids of the Church, as is prescribed by the Injunctions for Uniformitie, and as the accustomed manner is in all the exemplary places * and quires of this realme." There are other queries which throw light upon prevailing irregularities, as, for example, those which note the slovenly habit, apparently not infrequent, of omitting nearly the whole of the opening Exhortation (p. 111), and the licence, which seems to have been not unusually taken by some, of exercising their individual discretion as to what Psalms and Lessons should be used. To these may be added the stringent questions which are put as to the *constant* use of the Surplice. (P. 113.) It is matter of special inquiry whether it is used at the Holy Communion by the celebrant, and by the minister assisting him, and likewise whether it is worn at Weddings and at Funerals. The "new devise" of baptizing in a basin, "leaving the antient use of the Font," is classed among matters worthy of reprehension, and the omission of the sign of the Cross was evidently no unusual occurrence. Catechizing is strongly urged, and the use of catechisms compiled by what he calls "outlandish" (*i.e.* foreign) persons as strongly condemned.

Amongst indications of the practice of men of his school in the celebration of Divine Service, it is not unworthy of notice that Cosin recognizes *kneeling* as the proper posture of the celebrant when receiving the Holy Communion.

With the year 1627 Cosin's troubles may be said to have commenced. It was the year which witnessed the publication of his "Collection of Private Devotions, &c.," a work which met with the utmost reprobation at the hands of the Puritan party, and gave occasion to them to brand its author as a Papist in disguise, and as one who was utterly unfaithful to the Church at whose altar he served †. The book was compiled at the request

* By "the exemplary places" Cosin means Cathedrals. An idea prevails, not uncommonly, that Cathedral service is a sort of exceptional mode of solemnizing the sacred Offices of the Church, and one which was by no means intended to be a model for ordinary parish churches. The very reverse is the truth. The Cathedral was intended to be "exemplary" in the strict meaning of the word. Whatever is permissible in a Cathedral may be practised, if means and circumstances admit, in the humbler shrines of our country parishes.

† Cosin's known intimacy with Laud, Mountagu, and others of the same stamp,

of Charles I., for the benefit of the English ladies of the Court of Henrietta-Maria. Cosin's own account of the circumstances which led to its publication, as detailed by him to Evelyn, is given hereafter. (P. 284.) The name of its compiler was ingeniously twisted into an opprobrious epithet for his book, which was designated as Mr. Cosin's "Cozening Devotions." It was especially assailed by Burton, in his "Examination," &c., and by Prynne, in his "Brief Survey." Cosin's answers to the objections of his adversaries will be read with interest. Many of the exceptions taken against this book were puerile in the extreme. Its division into "Hours," and its recognition of prayers for the dead, were probably the greatest stumbling-blocks which it presented to the Puritan mind, though Surtees suggests that "perhaps its chief *offendiculum* lay in the frontispiece, which had the name of Jesus in three capital letters, I. H. S., upon these is raised a cross encircled with the sun, supported by two angels, with two devout females in the act of adoration."—Hist. Durh. I., Part i. p. cvii. The book, however, had a wonderful circulation. The first impression was exhausted immediately, and is now excessively rare. Several editions were afterwards issued, with the omission of some of the passages which were inveighed against by Prynne.

In a letter to Laud, dated June, 1628 (p. 138), Cosin alludes to the obloquy which had been heaped upon him on account of this publication, mentioning, with some degree of scorn, "the licentious libels lately printed without license, and vented out into all parts against him, which have made him the subject of every

caused him to be regarded with dislike and suspicion by the Puritan party. His tendencies in the direction of ornate ceremonial in the service of the Church had already developed themselves, and no doubt caused a strong prejudice against him, and any thing that proceeded from his pen. He had acted as *Magister Cæremoniarum* at the Coronation of Charles I., an office for which he would scarcely have been selected, had it not been well known that he was more skilled than most of his time in all that appertained to Ecclesiastical rites and functions, an accomplishment amply sufficient at that time to fasten the charge of Popery upon him. Prynne notes it with his usual acrimony:—"Popish Master John Cosens, when the Prayers appointed for the Coronation were there read, kneeled behinde the Bishops, giving direction to the Quire when to answer: acting the office of the Master of Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies; whose office you may read at large described in Cæremoniale Episcoporum, Lib. i. c. 5. p. 19. *De Officio Magistrorum Cæremoniarum.*"—Canterbury's Doom, p. 70.

man's censure." The letter contains a reference, however, to a matter of still greater interest as connected with a subject which occupied so much of his attention in his later life. It would appear that the revision of the Common-Prayer Book * was a matter to which he had even then given much thought. The proper arrangement of the Calendar, and the correction of blunders which had crept into it, as also the adding of the Ordination Service, as an integral part of the book, to all future impressions, were the principal things which, as it seems, he had undertaken to look after, possibly by Laud's direction, certainly with his sanction. It is interesting to mark how, like a true lover of books as he was, every little detail connected with the new impression of the Prayer Book then about to be issued,—such as "the beautifying of the book with sundry characters and fairer than before," and "the printing of the *Pater noster* at large,"—was carefully attended to by him. It is painful to add that his alterations, innocent though they were, and involving no error or change of doctrine whatsoever, could not escape the ill-natured and carping animadversion of his Puritan adversaries.

Cosin's love of books has been previously mentioned. See *antè*, p. viii. We have it further exemplified in an Act of Chapter, passed July 20, 1628, which, there can be little question, was mainly due to his influence. It makes a provision "for the replenishing and mainteyning of their common Librarie," recognizing it as a necessary duty, and as a means of "the advancement of religion and learning." The document is altogether in Cosin's handwriting, with the exception of the Dean's signature, and was no doubt drawn up by him.

This Act of Chapter contains an allusion to the "large summes of money" which the Dean and Chapter had then lately expended over "the reparation of their Church-fabrick, and for the ornaments, utensills, and beautie of the same." Within a week after its date the walls of the Cathedral resounded with a violent fulmination against all that had been done; and Cosin, though not actually mentioned by name, was pointed at, in the most unmistakable manner, as the prime mover in a deliberate at-

* Cf. Appendix No. 1. to Cosin's Notes on the Common Prayer.—Works (Angl. Cath. Lib.) v. p. 502, *et seqq*.

tempt, as the preacher regarded it, to restore all the ceremonies, vestments, and doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome. Peter Smart's celebrated Sermon was preached on the 27th July, 1628, and certainly any thing more outrageously virulent could scarcely be uttered. He called the altar "a damnable idol," those who bowed to it "spiritual fornicators," and the Bishops, "Rome's bastardly brood, still doating upon their mother, the painted harlot of the Church of Rome;" whilst Cosin was alluded to under the term of "our young Apollo," who "repaireth the quire, and sets it out gayly, with strange Babylonish ornaments," together with other personal allusions, which would be sufficiently intelligible to those who heard him. The ferment this sermon created may be easily imagined. Smart was summoned to appear before a High Commission Court in the great chamber of the Deanery, at two P.M. of the very day on which his sermon was preached. The Commissioners present were Dean Hunt, and Marmaduke Blakiston, Cosin, and James, Prebendaries. Smart delivered up his sermon to be copied, but refused to retract any of the offensive expressions he had used. The result was that he was suspended *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ*, and his prebendal stall was soon afterwards sequestered.

Smart's animosity was aggravated by the summary manner in which his brethren of the Chapter thus called him to account for the attack which he had made upon them; and he proceeded, by way of retaliation, to try whether the strong arm of law might not be brought to bear upon them for the innovations, as he deemed them, which they had introduced into the services of the Cathedral. This he was able to do without much delay. The Assizes were close at hand, and he seized the opportunity. Four indictments were preferred against them. Of these indictments (to quote Cosin's words), "one is, that we place our Communion Table the wrong way; another, that we stand up and sing the Creed after the Gospell; a third, that we use waxe lights and tapers; and a fourth, that Mr. Burgoyne hath set up an altar in his Church at Warmouth." Smart's allegation was that these ceremonies were unlawful, and contrary to the Act of Uniformity. But it was decided otherwise. The Judge, Sir James Whitelocke, "rejected the indictments in open court,"

stating at the same time that he himself had attended the services of the Cathedral, and "had been both an eare and eye witnesse that all things were done in decencie and in order" (p. 145).

Before the end of the year 1628, another attack, relating to a different subject, was made upon Cosin, which evidently was a cause of great uneasiness to him. He was accused of having used very unseemly language, concerning the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, at a great Court dinner at Durham; and so much was made of this by his enemies, that he thought it needful to enter into a most elaborate statement of what had occurred, protesting his loyalty, and utterly repudiating the words which it was alleged he had uttered, bringing forward, moreover, the solemn testimonies of the High Sheriff of Durham, and several of his brethren of the Chapter to confirm his own circumstantial detail of the conversation. It is difficult in our days of free and unrestrained expression of opinion to imagine the possibility of grave accusations being founded upon any hasty or unguarded words which might have been uttered in the freedom of private intercourse, more especially if spoken by a person who, as regarded loyalty and reverence for the person of his sovereign, was *omni suspicione major*.

In the summer of 1629, Smart re-appears as an accuser of his brethren. The indictments which Judge Whitelocke had rejected at the Assizes of the preceding year were now preferred, for a second time, before Judge Yelverton *. With him Smart doubtless hoped that they would receive a more favourable reception, for he was evidently as strong a Puritan as Smart himself. Cosin and some other members of the Chapter sought a conference with the Judge, the particulars of which are detailed in a very quaint and graphic manner. The whole scene is brought most vividly before the mind's eye. The old Puritan Judge tells the assembled Prebendaries that he had read Mr. Smart's sermon, "and he thought it to be a very good and an honest sermon." He informs them, likewise, "that he had alwaies

* Sir Henry Yelverton, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was Solicitor-General in 1613, and Attorney-General in 1617. He died 24 Jan. 1629-30, leaving behind him a high reputation for legal knowledge.

been accounted a Puritane, and he thanked God for it; and that soe he would die:"—a statement which must have made them quake for the result of the indictments. He does not hesitate to express the strong distaste he entertains for Cathedral service, and the special dislike he has to the chanting of the Psalms. One of the Prebendaries ventures to defend the practice by quoting their Statutes, which bind them to perform the Service *cum cantu et jubilatione*. The Judge catches hold of the expression, and repeats, several times, "That, for his part, he never liked of your whistling of service." It was explained to him with all due respect that *jubilatio* did not mean whistling; but it was all to no purpose. "Sir, I know what I say; I call it whistling," was the Judge's reply.

The conference ended without any impression, apparently, being made upon the Judge in favour of the accused Prebendaries, and in his charge to the Grand Jury on the following day he laid it down, "that as it was against the law to doe less than was commanded (as not to wear the surplisse, &c.), so it was against it also to doe any thing more then is thereby expressly appointed to be done. And that such as did more than was therein specified might be indicted at the Assize, as well as they that did lesse." The result was that at this Assize the Grand Jury found the indictments against Cosin and his brethren.

Judge Yelverton's puritan proclivities had, however, carried him too far. Calmer reflection appears to have led him to the conclusion, that he had perchance not given his interpretation with the impartiality which is demanded of one who is placed on the seat of judgment to administer the law as it is, not that distorted image of it which is reflected by the mirror of passion, of prejudice, or of party feeling. It is curious to find him, after the Assizes were over, trying to effect a reconciliation between Smart and his brother Prebendaries, especially with Cosin. The warm but generous temper of the latter was not slow to express a readiness to be upon friendly terms with his adversary. The spirit shown by the former, even in Judge Yelverton's estimate, was any thing but a kindly and Christian one. At the conclusion of the interview the Judge told Smart, with

reference to the indictments, that after more mature consideration he saw "no such direct law whereon to ground them." Cosin and Burgoine requested, very naturally, that the indictments might be traversed, so that they might not be exposed to the risk of similar attacks in future. The result was, that the Judge "stayed the indictments from any further public view or prosecution," and promised to lay the matter before the King, and the Bishops of Durham, London, and Winchester.

No further attempt appears to have been made to molest Cosin and his allies in the Chapter by any proceedings at common law. But Smart was not of a temper to let the matter drop. It cannot be said that he was without excuse. The measure of severity dealt out to him for the sermon he had delivered, foul-mouthed and violent as that discourse unquestionably was, must be admitted to have been more than proportionate to his offence. The proceedings against Smart, already mentioned as commencing in the great chamber of the Deanery of Durham, were transferred to the High Commission Court at York, where he suffered the imposition of a fine of £400, committal to prison, the sequestration of all his ecclesiastical livings; and, finally, on the 18th Nov., 1630, degradation *ab omni gradu et dignitate clericali,* because he refused to recant and pay costs.

Previous to the execution of this censure Smart had delivered to Archbishop Harsnett the Articles against Cosin, Burgoine, Blakiston, Dean Hunt, Lindsell, and James, which are printed in this volume (p. 161, *et seqq.*). They correspond, to a great extent, with those which, ten years afterwards, he brought to bear against Cosin with greater effect. Amidst a great deal of coarse and scurrilous invective they contain some remarkable and curious statements as to the changes made, unquestionably through Cosin's influence, in the arrangement, furniture, decorations, and ceremonial of the Cathedral of Durham. The development in such matters which has recently been witnessed in the Church of England gives these details an interest and a significance which would not otherwise attach to them,—at all events, not to the same extent. *In sese volvitur orbis.* We

almost seem to be reading a narrative of the events of to-day in the record of what took place more than two centuries ago.

Nothing then resulted from the exhibition of these Articles. The *animus* of the High Commissioners at York was altogether against Smart, who was then before them as a delinquent, and they were little likely to listen to his allegations against those who acted in a similar capacity in another part of the Province.

For an answer to them we must look to a somewhat later period of Cosin's life, when he was brought before the Houses of Parliament upon charges almost identical, made by the same unrelenting opponent. Many were denied, some were explained; but it cannot be doubted that Cosin must have been largely instrumental in the introduction of many adjuncts to the service of the Church, and some usages therein, which gave deep offence to those who, like Smart, were bitterly opposed to any thing which appeared in any wise to resemble the ceremonial of the ancient Church, or to rise above the meagre level of the Puritan platform. See Acts of High Commission (Surtees Soc. Pub.), p. 215, &c.

The principal things objected to were the position of the Holy Table, the lights placed thereon, the vestments or copes used at the celebration of Holy Communion, and the position of the Celebrant. Exception was likewise taken to certain practices which appear at that time to have excited an opposition which now seems almost unaccountable, namely, the singing of the Nicene Creed, compelling the congregation to stand during the time it was sung or rehearsed *, and the use of an anthem after it in place of a metrical psalm.

As regards the position of the Lord's Table, Cosin does not seem to have been responsible. The altar with its black marble pillars and their adornment of "cherubim-faces, as white as snow," which Smart complains of, appears to have been erected before Cosin was a member of the Cathedral. The candlesticks and tapers which stood upon it were introduced, possibly at his instance, certainly with his approval. Whether these tapers

* Sitting was probably the general attitude. Amongst the Injunctions given at Winchester in 1635, at the Visitation of Sir Nathaniel Brent, Laud's Vicar-General, is one which gives an order, "*constanter stare tempore lectionis symbolorum.*"—Cf. Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 80.

were lighted at the celebration of the Holy Communion is a matter which admits of a doubt. Smart's Articles certainly speak of "tapers burning, and not burning, on the Communion Table," but there is no distinct allegation as to their being lighted specially at the time of the Holy Communion. Cosin's answer, in 1640, as to this point, is a little ambiguous. He speaks of "two *lights* which used to be set on the communion table," and goes on to mention others, which were arranged in places near adjoining, for the use of the congregation, when needed for ordinary purposes of light *.—Cf. Acts of High Commission, p. 223.

The position of the Celebrant was another matter which gave great offence. From Cosin's answer to the charge on this head, it would appear, however, that his practice was to stand in front of the Altar at the Consecration prayer, only; and, at all other times of his ministration, at the north side, or *end*, as he more explicitly describes the place he occupied †.—Ibid. p. 218.

* In the absence of *positive* contemporary proof of the use of lighted candles at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist at this period in Durham Cathedral, there are nevertheless two reasons which lead to the supposition that the custom did prevail in that Church. One is the interpretation which Cosin puts upon the "Ornaments Rubric," as to this particular ceremonial.—Cf. Works (Angl. Cath. Lib.), vol. v. p. 231. See also pp. 440, 441. The other is afforded by a remarkable statement made to the Editor, a few years ago, by an aged clergyman, who was at Durham School for some time in the early part of this century, and constantly in the habit of attending the services of the Cathedral, who assured him that he had the most distinct remembrance of the altar-candles being then lighted every Sunday *morning*, in anticipation, no doubt, of the celebration of Holy Communion. If this statement be correct, and the Editor has no reason to doubt the veracity of his informant, it can scarcely be doubted that the custom had been transmitted from Cosin's time. When he returned, as Bishop of the Diocese, after the Restoration, he would be careful, most assuredly, to revive such ceremonial in the Cathedral as he had been instrumental in setting on foot, when Prebendary. The use of lighted candles must, nevertheless, have been at all times since the Reformation an exceptional practice in the Church of England. Hickman says, "The Lutherans, at least many of them, better approve of lighting candles in the administration than do the Zuinglians. We, in England, in many places, set candles and candlesticks on the Tables, but do not light them."—Hist. Quinq-Articularis Exarticulata, in Ep. to Reader, p. 13. Lond. 1674.

† A great deal has been said and written about the north-side question, without much consideration as to what is really indicated by the Rubric in which it is mentioned. That Rubric contemplates the removal of the Lord's Table, "at the Communion time," into the Body of the Church, or the middle of the Chancel, with its ends pointing east and west, and the Priest was then to stand at its north side. A direction plain enough, if such removal took place. But the unchanging situation

The singing of the Nicene Creed was another bone of contention. Concerning the disputes and difficulties as to this, and the singing of metrical Psalms instead of Anthems, there are some curious particulars in a Letter from Lindsell and Cosin, addressed to Eleazar Duncan, chaplain to Neile, then Bishop of Winchester. (P. 200.) The Bishop of Durham (Howson) seems to have interposed his authority in the matter. He was obviously adverse to Cosin. With some difficulty a compromise was effected. The Creed was to be sung on Sundays and Holy-days, but "all the week long besides it shold be read only by him that executed alone at the Altar." (P. 201 *.) The Bishop's objection to Anthems appears to have been insuperable, and he seems to have insisted, with much pertinacity, upon the use of the metrical Psalms. (Ibid.)

Bishop Howson was evidently Smart's friend, and was strongly prejudiced against Cosin, whom he would gladly have got rid of. An intimation was given that some formal censure would be pronounced against him and Lindsell, accompanied by a threat of turning the former out of the Church. The attitude assumed by the Bishop gave Cosin so much uneasiness that he laid the matter before Laud, seeking his advice and protection. The result of this was a missive addressed by the King to Bishop Howson, obtained, no doubt, through Laud's intervention, in which his Majesty required the Bishop "to desist from medling with Augustine Lindsell and John Cosens, or any other of the prebends of that Church." This seems to have put an effectual stop to the Bishop's interference with them, though he evidently submitted somewhat unwillingly to the pressure put upon him †.

now occupied by the Holy Table in every Church in the kingdom, seems to require a slight change in the rubrical direction given as to the position of the Celebrant.

* We get evidence here that it was then the custom in Durham Cathedral to read the Communion Office *daily*. The daily reading of the Epistles and Gospels at the Lord's Table was enjoined at Winchester in 1635 by Sir Nathaniel Brent, Laud's Vicar-General :—*dictasque Epistolas et Evangelium indies legendum fore ad sacram Mensam Eucharistiæ.*—Cf. Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, pp. 79, 80.

† One cannot help noting the absence of any direct remark by the Bishop upon those practices which, in our time, have stirred up the greatest opposition, such as, *e.g.*, lighted candles and vestments. It is certainly curious to find him selecting, as matters worthy of *special* condemnation, such things as the singing the Nicene

In the year 1633 King Charles I. made a progress into Scotland, to receive the Crown of that Kingdom. On his way he visited the city of Durham, where he was received with all possible honour. A very interesting account of his reception at the Cathedral, drawn up in Latin by Cosin, and enrolled in the Register-Book of the Dean and Chapter with all due formality, will be found in this Collection. Laud was in attendance upon the King and took a prominent part in the services of the Cathedral. Through his influence, probably, Cosin was employed in the regulation of all the proceedings connected with the King's reception in the Cathedral, and the arrangement of the Services which the King attended. A somewhat curious document is appended to the narrative of the King's reception. It is the copy of a Royal Mandate addressed to the Dean and Chapter on the subject of some unsightly buildings which had been suffered to cluster around the north side of the Cathedral, encroaching upon the Church-yard, and even abutting upon the walls of the Church. His Majesty strongly enforces their removal, and proceeds further to command that certain seats, heretofore occupied by the Mayor and Corporation, the wives of the Dean and Prebendaries, and "other women of quality," which had been ejected from the Choir in contemplation of the Royal Visit, should never be again erected, "that soe the Quire may ever remaine in its auntient beawtie." Minute directions are given as to the provision which was to be made for the future accommodation of the Mayor and Corporation, and the wives of the higher dignitaries. The "other women of quality" are to be seated upon moveable benches or chairs, which can be stowed away in the vestry, or elsewhere, when not wanted. Laud and Cosin had most likely laid their heads together to obtain this Mandate from his Majesty *.

Creed and the use of Anthems. It would lead to the inference that the latter were greater innovations than the former.

* Laud seems to have had an æsthetic feeling as regards clearing the area of a Cathedral choir from the incumbrance of pews, with which one cannot but sympathize. In an "Annual Account of his Province," delivered to the King, he says, "The Cathedral at Salisbury is much pestered with seats, and I have given order to remove them; which I hope your Majesty will approve, as well as you did at York and Durham; and add your power, if mine be not sufficient." The King writes in

On the 8th February, 1634-5, Cosin was elected Master of Peter House, as successor to Dr. Matthew Wren, who had been promoted to the See of Hereford.

Prynne alleges that the appointments of Cosin, and of some others whom he mentions, to be heads of houses in the University of Cambridge, was owing to Laud's influence. (Cf. Canterbury's Doom, p. 73.) It is not improbable that this was the case. The Archbishop was very much dissatisfied with the state of that University as regarded Church order. "In some of the Colleges," says Heylin, "there were no chappels at all, or at the best some places used for chappels, but never consecrated." (Cyp. Angl. p. 296.) So much anxiety did Laud feel on this subject, that, in order to bring things into a better state, he sought and obtained Visitorial powers from the King, to enable him to exercise an authority which the University of Cambridge was very reluctant to recognize.

Cosin was certain to enter with readiness into all Laud's views, and accordingly we find him specially made the subject of Prynne's animadversions, with respect to the ceremonial he introduced into the Chapel of Peter House. He tells us, "that in Peter-house chappel there was a glorious new Altar set up, and mounted on steps, to which the Master, Fellowes, Schollers bowed, and were enjoyned to bow by Doctor Cosins the Master, who set it up; that there were basons, candlestickes, tapers standing on it, and a great crucifix hanging over it." And again, "that in Peter-house there was likewise a carved crosse at the end of every seat, and on the Altar a pot, which they usually called the incense pot: that the Master, Fellows and Schollers of that House, at their entering into and going out of the chappell, made a low obeysance to the Altar, being enjoyned by Doctor Cosens under a penalty (as they reported) to doe it; and none of them might turne their backs towards the Altar going in nor out of the Chappell. That divers Schollers of other houses usually resorted thither, some out of curiosity only to behold, others to learne and practise the Popish cere-

the margin, "C. R. I doe, and will express my pleasure (if need be) what way you will."

monies and orders used in that Chappell: and the common report both among the Schollers of that House and others, was, that none might approach to the Altar in Peter-house but in sandalls, and that there was a special consecrated knife there kept upon the Altar, to cut the sacramental bread that was to be consecrated."—Canterbury's Doom, pp. 73, 74.

There is probably much absurd exaggeration in the latter statements; but there can be no doubt that incense was introduced into the services of the Chapel of Peter House. In the Collection now given will be found a Bill, which was rendered to Cosin in 1638, by a London goldsmith (p. 223), which affords proof, at all events, of the purchase of "a sencor;" and we may fairly presume that it was bought with the intention of being used *.

In 1640, Cosin served the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the 7th November in the same year he was installed Dean of Peterborough †, but had no quiet enjoyment of that dignity. "On the 10th of the same month, Smart, whose day of vengeance had now arrived, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining in most aggravated terms of Cosin's superstitious and Popish innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his own severe prosecution in the High Commission Court ‡. On the 21st of the same

* Amongst the furniture of Bishop Andrewes' Chapel, is "a censor to burn incense in, at the reading of the first Lesson, as in the Popish Masse and Churches. A little Boate out of which the Frankincense is powred, &c. (which Doctor Cosens had made use of in Peter-house, where he burned incense:) furniture directly borrowed from the Roman Ceremoniall, Missall, and Pontificall, no where to be found but in Popish Chappels and Churches."—Canterbury's Doom, p. 123.

† He appears to have owed this promotion to the personal consideration of Charles I. Laud says, "I named four of his Majesty's chaplains to him, as he had commanded me. And the King pitched upon Dr. Cosens, in regard all the means he then had, lay in, and about Duresme, and was then in the Scots' hands; so that he had nothing but forty pounds a year by his Headship in Peter-house to maintain himself, his wife, and children."—Hist. of the Troubles and Tryal of W. Laud, &c. (ed. H. Wharton, 1695), p. 366.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons. Rushworth, iii. 53. It does not, however, appear that Cosin was by any means Mr. Smart's principal enemy, for he proved very satisfactorily that, so far from interfering after the business was taken up by the High Commission Court, he once, at least, wrote to the Commissioners in favour of the offender.

month Dr. Cosin was ordered into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and a Committee was appointed to prepare charges against him *. On the 3rd of December the prisoner was admitted to bail on his petition, presented on the 28th of November, and gave security for his appearance himself in 2000*l.*, and his sureties in 1000*l.* each †; and on the 22nd January, 1640-1, he underwent, by vote of the whole House, the severe sentence of sequestration from all his ecclesiastical benefices ‡, being the very first victim of Puritanical vengeance who suffered by vote of the Commons. His persecution did not end here. On the 13th of March twenty-one articles of impeachment against Dr. Cosin were exhibited by the Commons at the bar of the House of Lords."—Surtees' Hist. Durh. I., part i. pp. cvii, cviii.

These articles closely resembled those which were exhibited by Smart in 1630, as has been already indicated.

"After a hearing of five days, Cosin was dismissed on bail, and never again called on to attend. Almost immediately after, he was again committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, on a charge made by a member of the Commons 'of having seduced a young scholar to Popery,'—a charge which he not only refuted completely, but proved the very reverse of the accusation to be true, viz. that while he held the office of Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he had, after using every effort to reclaim the youth in question, obliged him to read a public recantation, and then punished him by expulsion from the University. In 1642 Dr. Cosin was an active instrument in sending the College plate from Cambridge to supply the Royal Mint at York, and he was in consequence ejected from his Mastership of Peter House, by warrant from the Earl of Manchester, dated the 16th of March, 1642-3." — Surtees' Hist. Durh. I., part i. p. cviii.

* Commons' Journals. In Dr. Brady's Collections (Baker MSS. xxxiv. No. 1) we have an anecdote of Cosin's demeanour before the Committee:—"Dr. Cosins, coming before the Committee, bowed and did obeysance to them. One of them replyed, 'Heere is no altar, Dr. Cosin.' 'Why then,' sayd hee, 'I hope there shall be no sacrifice.'" p. 36.

† Rushworth, iii. 145.

‡ Ibid. 152.

On the 25th of the same month Mrs. Cosin died, shortly after having given birth to a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Denis Granville, Dean and Archdeacon of Durham. She was interred in Peterborough Cathedral, where a monument exists to her memory, erected in after years, and bearing an inscription, which is doubtless the work of her husband's pen *.

Other trials, besides this domestic one, now pressed heavily upon him. The time "had now arrived," as Surtees happily expresses it, "when Cosin was to prove, by his admirable patience and constancy in poverty and in exile, his sincere attachment to that Church, whose interests he had been accused of an intention to betray." The deprivation of his preferments, and the apprehension which he entertained of further measures affecting his personal liberty, determined him to withdraw to Paris. Here, by order from the King, he officiated as Chaplain to such of Queen Henrietta-Maria's household as were members of the Church of England. His ministrations were at first conducted in a private house, but eventually at the residence of Sir Richard Browne, the English Ambassador, where a chapel was fitted up, and the services of the Church of England conducted with much dignity. He "had lodgings assigned him in the Louvre, together with a small pension from France,

* The inscription is as follows:—"Memoriæ præstantissimæ feminæ Franciscæ Cosin, generosæ, et pientissimæ conjugis Dñi Iohannis Cosin, S. Theologiæ Professoris, et olim Decani hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedr: postea Episcopi Dunelm: quæ obiit 25 die mensis Martij, in festo Annunciacionis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, 1642, et hic sub strato marmore sepulta jacet."

"The day of her burial," says Gunton, "was remarkable in this, that whilst the child (a daughter christened Anne) was at the font to be baptized, the mother lay by upon the bier, to be carried presently to her grave. A pretty accident (if we may call it an accident) fell out the day before. It being the Eve of the Annunciation (and none making the least question but that this gentlewoman was in a fair way of recovery after her delivery, and all things prepared for the christening of the child), the Chanter, whose office it was to appoint the anthems, appointed to be sung that part of the burial service composed by Mr. Wilkinson, *I am the Resurrection*, &c. Dean Cosin, being then at church, and having the anthem brought him, asked the Chanter, Why he had appointed this anthem? The Chanter replied, 'It is a good anthem, and you have not yet heard it.' The next morning this gentlewoman died, and that day the same anthem was sung again at her burial. Dean Cosin afterwards observed the *omen*."—Hist. Ch. of Peterborough, p. 99.

on account of his connection with the Queen of England." (Surtees' Hist. I., part i., p. cviii.) This pension appears to have been supplemented by assistance from friends of the Royal cause in England, as we learn from letters addressed by Cosin to Sancroft. (See hereafter pp. 287, 288, 289.) The aid thus received must often have been very acceptable.

The time which he spent in exile, a period of seventeen years, was a season of great literary activity on the part of Cosin; but his energies were almost exclusively devoted to writings of a controversial character. Controversy was, in fact, forced upon him. Repeated attempts were made to withdraw the English exiles from the faith of the Church of England, incidental allusions to which occur in the course of this correspondence. The validity of our English ordinations, the scholastical history of the Canon of Scripture, and that great subject of controversy between the Church of Rome and ourselves,—the doctrine of Transubstantiation,—all engaged his attention, and were not unnatural results of the circumstances in which he was placed. The whole have been most carefully edited in the collection of his works, published in the Anglo-Catholic Library. It seems, therefore, unnecessary here to do more than simply refer to them. Some minor pieces also proceeded from his pen.—Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.), i. pp. xxxiv—xxxvi.

The "Tractate on Transubstantiation," now printed, as it is believed, for the first time, demands a few words. As has been already mentioned, it is published from a MS. in Cosin's handwriting, beautifully written, and apparently prepared for the press. It purports to be an answer to a Romish writing, or pamphlet, entitled *Transubstantiation Maintained,* which was probably industriously disseminated amongst the English residents. The Editor has used every endeavour to ascertain whether this exists in print. He has searched in the British Museum, and in the Bodleian Library, but without success. The authorities of Ushaw College, to whom he begs to offer his grateful thanks for their courtesy, kindly made search in their Library, but were unable to find any tract or pamphlet bearing that title. It may have been circulated, as was not uncommon, in manuscript. There is probably an obscure allusion to it in

a letter addressed by Cosin to Bishop Morton, bearing date the 8th of August, 1648. — Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.), iv. p. 472.

One thing appears certain, that we have here the germ of what was afterwards expanded into his History of Transubstantiation. It is interesting on that account, and it is likewise valuable as exhibiting an explicit statement of the belief of the Church of England with respect to the Holy Eucharist, as that belief was understood by the great Divines of the 17th century. Transubstantiation is rejected, deliberately and advisedly, as a dogma which was utterly unknown in primitive times, but a belief in the real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord in that Holy Sacrament is definitely and distinctly avowed, as an ancient and Catholic doctrine which the Church of England holds in common with the Church Universal. The array of authorities and the acuteness of argument, which Cosin brings to bear upon the question, cannot but command respect, even if they fail to secure conviction.

"In 1651," writes Surtees, "after the battle of Worcester, King Charles escaped to Paris, and resided there for three months, during which period Cosin officiated alternately with Erle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, as Ministers of the Chapel Royal. When the King was afterwards obliged to leave France, Cosin had determined on following the fortunes of his Sovereign; and it was only at the King's request, or order, that he remained at Paris as Pastor to the members of the English Church then in exile there." Hist. Durh. I. part i. p. cix. The Royal Letter containing this command is given in this Collection. (P. 285.)

The duties of his office were discharged by Cosin with great exactness and assiduity. Evelyn mentions him as a frequent preacher* in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel, where the service of the Church appears to have been performed with great solemnity†. Nor was he remiss as to other duties. His "monitions

* Eleven of the Sermons which he preached at Paris have been preserved.—Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.), vol. i.

† We have the authority of Dean Granville, Bishop Cosin's son-in-law, for the statement that the Offices of the Church of England were celebrated at the Resident's Chapel "with the solemnity of a cathedrall service."—Cf. Dean Granville's Letters (Pub. Surtees Soc.), Part II. Introd. p. viii, *note*.

and exhortations" were directed "as well to the sick as to the whole." The latter he admonished, with sedulous care, to shut their ears to the voice of those who sought to lead them away from their allegiance to the Church of their Baptism, whilst to the former he was not slow to afford the consolations of religion according to the form which that Church provided for them. An interesting passage in the life of Hobbes of Malmesbury shows him in the light of a spiritual counsellor to that eminent Philosopher :—

"Ipse (Hobbes) regimen Ecclesiæ per Episcopos præ cæteris formis omnibus semper approbaverat. Atque hoc duobus signis manifestum fecit. Primò, cum in oppido St^i. Germani propè Parisios morbo gravissimo lecto affixus esset, venit ad eum Mersennus, rogatus à quodam amico communi, ne amicum suum extra Ecclesiam Romanam mori pateretur. Is, lecto assidens (post exordium consolatorium) de potestate Ecclesiæ Romanæ peccata remittendi aliquantisper disseruit; Cui ille, 'Mi Pater,' inquit, 'hæc omnia jamdudum mecum disputavi. Eadem disputare nunc molestum erit. Habes, quæ dicas, amœniora. Quando vidisti Gassendum?' Quibus auditis Mersennus sermonem ad alia transtulit. Paucis post diebus accessit ad illum Dr. Ioannes Cosinus, Episcopus (post) Dunelmensis, obtulitque se illi comprecatorem ad Deum. Cui ille cum gratias reddidisset, 'Ita,' (inquit) 'si precibus præiveris, juxta ritum Ecclesiæ nostræ.' Magnum hoc erga disciplinam Episcopalem signum erat reverentiæ."—Thomæ Hobbes, Angli, Malmesburiensis Philosophi Vita, p. 9. Carolopoli: 1681.

It is to be regretted that so little is to be found in illustration of Cosin's personal history during the time of his residence in Paris. The letters belonging to that period which are given in this Collection, are few in number, and afford little information *. They refer chiefly to the attempts which were made by

It appears, however, to have been no new thing that the English Ambassador's Chapel in Paris should possess the adjuncts of an ornate service and ceremonial. Clarendon tells us that "Lord Scudamore," when Ambassador at the Court of France, "not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own Chappel in his House, with such ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion Table and the like) as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like; besides that he was careful to publish upon all occasion, by himself and those who had the nearest relation to him, 'that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as part of their Communion;' which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home."—Clarendon's Hist. ii. p. 74.

It is not uninteresting to contrast the attitude thus assumed towards the French Protestants with that which was adopted by Cosin with regard to them.—See the next page.

* Extracts from the Letters addressed to Sancroft have been printed in D'Oyley's Life of the Archbishop.

the Roman Catholics to procure the conversion of some of the English who had followed Queen Henrietta-Maria into exile,—to Cosin's own necessities, and to his complaints about his partial loss of sight, which, if not caused, had been aggravated by hard study. The labour he bestowed upon his Scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture is the cause to which he chiefly attributes this deprivation. "It was my late sitting up at nights to follow that work," says he, "that lost me the vigour of my eyes." (P. 289.)

It would have been interesting to have recovered some of the details of his intercourse with the French Protestants at Charenton, which, from the few particulars preserved by Smith and Basire, and from his own statements in his Answer to Fuller's charge *, seems to have been of a more intimate and friendly character than might have been anticipated from the general aspect of his theological opinions. We should scarcely have expected to have found a man like Cosin recognizing the validity of their Orders, joining in their worship, and permitting his children to do the same. Though, of course, granting the former, the latter might follow consistently enough. With regard to their Orders, he would seem to have accepted the judgment of his "lord and master Overall" (as he delighted to term him), who "was wont to say, 'Though we are not to lessen the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, where it is established, and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of Episcopacy, where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, both in Germany, France, and other places, and say they have neither ministers nor sacraments, but all is void and null that they do.'" (Cf. Cosin's Works (Angl. Cath. Lib.), iv. p. 449. See also his Letter to Mr. Cordel, ibid. p. 401.) The conversion of his only son to the faith of the Church of Rome, and the pertinacity with which he clung to his new creed, probably exacerbated Cosin's feeling against that Church, and caused him to throw himself more unreservedly into intimate association with the members of the Reformed Communion. But the line which

* Cf. Works (Angl. Cath. Lib.), iv. p. 397.

he took was evidently not satisfactory to many of his friends, and certainly not in accordance with the practice of some of the most eminent and orthodox ecclesiastics of the Church of England *.

A letter written to Cosin by Dr. Morley, in February 1659-60 (p. 291), shows that a gleam of hope had been afforded to the exiled Royalists by the news they had received of Monk's movements, though for the time it appeared clouded. But the misgivings of the writer proved eventually to be groundless, and the exiles soon returned with joy to their native shores. To Cosin the news of the Restoration of his Sovereign must have been glad indeed. Poverty pressed hard upon him, and he was on the eve of being compelled to submit to the hardest trial which can befall a man of letters. He had all but completed the sale of his books, in order that he might have where-

* Dr. Morley, for example (who, after the Restoration, became successively Bishop of Worcester and Winchester), writes as follows:—"When I was in France, I did at Paris assist Dr. Cozins, late Bishop of Durham, in preaching to the English Protestants there at Sir Richard Browne's house, then Resident there for our King, but never went to the French Presbiterian Church at Charenton, no more than I did afterwards to that of Caen in Normandy, whilst I was there. For which being asked the reason of the chief Pastor of the Church, the learned Monsieur Bouchart, my answer was, that I forbore to come to their Church; First, because we had at my Lady Ormond's house there, a congregation of our own, wherein we had not only Preaching, as they had, but a Liturgy, or solemn Form of worshipping God by Prayers, Praises, and Thanksgivings, which (as I was inform'd) they had not in their Churches. Secondly, Because though I understood their language when I read it, yet I did not understand it, when I heard it spoken, so well, as though the matter were never so good, to be at all edified by it. And, Thirdly, Because if they did not favour and encourage, yet they did not, at least they had not hitherto, condemned or reproved the scandalous and rebellious proceedings of their Presbiterian Brethren in England, against the King and against the Church; which until they should do by some publick act, or manifestation of their judgment to the contrary, I could not chuse but think they approved; or at least did not dislike what our Presbiterians in England had done, and were still adoing. And therefore I did forbear for the present, to joyn in Communion with them there at Caen, as I had done formerly, for the very same reasons, with those at Charenton.

"And they were these reasons of mine which I sent Monsieur Bouchart in a letter written in Latin, which drew from that learned man the Answer which he afterwards printed, and wherein he justifies the Episcopal Government in England, and condemns the taking up of arms by subjects against their Sovereigns in defence of Religion, or for any other cause, or upon any other pretence whatsoever."—Preface to Bishop Morley's Treatises, &c. Lond. 1683. 4to.

withal to supply his daily wants *. Happily this necessity was obviated, and the collection, which so nearly passed out of his possession, became the nucleus of a library, which he afterwards bequeathed to his diocese, and which is still known by his name.

After the Restoration Cosin resumed the preferments which he had previously held, but it was for a brief period only †. He was consecrated Bishop of Durham on the 2nd of December, 1660.

The Council of the SURTEES SOCIETY purpose to complete the present Collection by the publication hereafter of a second part, which will comprise a further selection from Bishop Cosin's Letters and Papers, commencing with his elevation to the Episcopate, and continued to the time of his death.

It remains now to fulfil a pleasing duty by placing on record the names of those to whom the Editor has been principally indebted during the progress of his work. His thanks are due, in the first place, to the Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland, the *Custodes* of Bishop Cosin's Library, for the permission which they kindly granted him to make use of the Mickleton MSS.,—a collection which has furnished the chief part of the book now published. To the Dean and Chapter of Durham he is at all times deeply indebted for unlimited access to their Library. To the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, of St. John's College, Cambridge, his acknowledgments must be offered for many memoranda, respecting Mountagu and Cosin,

* Evelyn writes in 1659:—"Whilst they were in great suspense, and almost in despair of the Revolution following; the Deane intending to sell his Library remaining in England, I agreed with his daughter Mrs. Mary (afterwards my Lady Gerard) for as many select books as I was to pay 300*l.* for: but before this bargain cou'd be perfected, the King was invited to come into Holland, in order to his reception in England, the Deane alter'd his mind, and wou'd not part with his books."

Evelyn describes Cosin's Library as "one of the choicest collections of any private person in England."

† He was long enough at Peterborough, however, to restore things to something like their former order. "In the year 1660, about the end of July, he then, after so long an interval, renewed the antient usage, and read Divine Service first himself, and caused it to be read every day afterwards, according to the old laudable use and custom, and settled the Church and Quire in that order wherein it now (1685) continues."—Kennett's Reg. p. 229.

which have been highly useful. He has also to thank Dr. Guest, the Master of Gonville and Caius College, and Mr. John W. Cooper, of Cambridge, for their ready attention to questions which he addressed to them. And he should be most ungrateful if he omitted the name of Archdeacon Churton, from whom he has received many valuable suggestions, communicated always in the kindest and most courteous manner.

GEORGE ORNSBY.

Fishlake Vicarage,
near Doncaster.
Aug. 20, 1869.

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CORRIGENDA.

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CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

BISHOP COSIN:

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

I.—Letter from Oliver Naylor to John Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 69.]

Mr. Coosen,

If you have any mind to receive and to send commendations so farre, I could wish it might be us'd betwixt us. On my part I would be very glad of it that I might keepe my remembrance where I am so much beholding, and howsoever I shall have but little newes to requite your letters with, yett myne shall contayne testimonie of a true affection which I shall alwayes beare you. I have heard from Cambridge of Mr. Simpson's* last sermon. If that or any thing about that cause be worth your writing, I pray you lett me heare. I am in a place of very good contentment, but so farre is a banishment. I have one good benefite of a verie choyce librarie, and my Lord of Bath † hath intent to increase it dailie, as the mart shall afford any choyce bookes. If this next Catalogue have any in Divinitie which you shall here commended, I pray you send me the names, that I

* In 1616 Edward Sympson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, preached a sermon before the King, then at Royston, which gave great offence, since the preacher endeavoured to prove that the commission of any great sin extinguishes, for the time, grace and God's Spirit. See the account of the matter in Heylyn's Quinquart. Hist. III. xxii. § 9; Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 160; Collier, II. p. 711; and three letters, written by Sympson himself, contained in the Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. 141, 142, 143. See also Hickman's Historia Quinq-Articularis exarticulata, p. 226.

† William Bourchier, Earl of Bath. He died at his manor-house of Tawestocke, co. Devon, July 12, 1623. The title became extinct on the death of Henry, Earl of Bath, in 1654.—Dugdale's Baronage, p. ii. 132.

may procure them. For they have us'd hitherto to trust the judgement of a booke-binder in Paule's Church-yard, who sends what he would. Remember my service to your Lord, unto whome I shall allwayes acknowledge my selfe in all humble duty bound. The carriers that bring letters this way lie at the Starre in Breadstreete. They sett forth every Saturday in the morning. You must enquier for Barstable carriers, and direct your letters to me at the Earle of Bath's in Tawstocke. If you receive this letter I pray you returne answere. And so with commendations to yourself and Mr. Rhoane, I commend you both to God's protection.

Your ever loving friend,
OLIVER NAYLOR *.

Tawstocke, 13 March, [1616-17.]

If you will, heare of a church buisnes that is falne out heere. There's one Allen in a towne cal'd South Moulton, not farre from us, that hath christned a pott of ale lately, with all the ceremonies belonging to a christning. His bell was a candlesticke, his funt a salt-seller, two duble juggs the gossips, and a dozen juggs more the witnesses. He us'd the verie wordes of our lyturgie, and, least any thing should be wanting, he had gossips' feast when he had done. He is thought to have don it in derision of our ceremonies and relligion. For he came late out of Portugall, and hath bene perswading divers young men to returne thether with him. He is falne into a noble Bishop's hands that stands for the Church †. I have sent Mr. Allen woord, for name's sake.

"To my very loving frend Mr. Coosen, at the Bishop of Lichfeld's in St. Austin fryers neere the Exchange."

II.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. (loose paper).]

GOOD MR. COOSEN,

I CANNOT but thinke my selfe much beholding to your love that interpret trouble kindnes, and, in what I may, I will endeavour

* Oliver Naylor was contemporary with Cosin at the University, and a member of the same College. He was one of the Taxors of the University in 1613, and is described as of Gonville and Caius College.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 415. It appears that he afterwards became rector of Tawstocke, co. Devon.

† The Bishop of Exeter probably instituted proceedings against him. William Cotton, S.T.P., was Bishop of that See from 1598 to 1621.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 83. Godwin says of him "Hujus animositate ac solertiâ periculum à novatoribus non leve, olim memini depulsum, quando propter temporum mutationem spe factiosi æstuantes, nescio quid prestituri videbantur, nisi conatibus illorum vir cordatus fortiter restitisset."—De Præsul. Angliæ, ed. 1616. p. 478.

to retaine that love which is so well disposed where it does affect. I thanke you for the contents of your letter; it does me much good to heare of these adventures, beeing so farre of from them. I shall pray for your most worthy Lord's * good successe, and surely if the ball have written uppon it *detur potiori*, I know which way it will goe. I shall not trouble you for any catalogue of the mart, for we are sure to have one sent from my Lord's booke-binder, but for the choyce amongst them I shalbe very glad to heare from you. You shall not feare the delivery of your letters, for we never loose any which the carriers receive, and for those which I send, I will either enclose them in my sister's, or direct them to you at your Lord's. At this tyme I have no newes to requite you, and writing by one of my Lord's gentlemen, who is now readie to goe, I am fayne to make hast. So with my best love and commendasions, I rest,

Yours ever,
OLIVER NAYLOR.

Ap. 13, [1616-17.]

I pray you commend me to Mr. Roane.

"To my very loving frend Mr. Coosen, at the Reverend father in God, the Bishop of Lichfield's, at St. Austin fryars."

III.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 68.]

MR. COOSEN,

I AM wonderfull glad at your worthy Lord's good successe†, and congratulate our tymes in it where vertue sometymes prevayles. I shall not fayle to pray for his prosperitie, and all your good fortunes. I thanke you for the note of bookes you sent me. We heare of a reconciling of opinions in the lowe countryes, or at least of suppressing further writing. If the newes be seconded, I pray you let me heare of it. If report hath not told the tale allready at London you may receive this newes from hence of S^r^ Walter Raughly‡, that when he and his company

* Bishop Overall, to whom Cosin was then Secretary.

† Bishop Overall had no doubt just received the promise of the See of Norwich, to which he was elected on May 21, 1618, and confirmed on Sept. 30 following. He died May 12, 1619, and was buried in his own Cathedral.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 212.

‡ The account given by Oliver Naylor of Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate expedition corresponds almost word for word with Sir Walter's own narrative, contained in a letter which he wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood. See Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, prefixed to his History of the World, ed. 1677, p. 39. See also Kennett's Hist. Engl. ii. pp. 712, 713.

came neere the river Oronoco, S^r^. Walter sent Captaine Kemish with 4 ships in search of the myne, who by the way tooke a towne of the Spaniards called St. Tome, and burnt it without any great losse, only S^r^. Walter's sonne, breaking his ranks and running before the company very disorderly (so our relation speakes of him), was slaine. Captaine Kemish after, with 20 in his company, undertooke the finding of the myne, and was absent 20 dayes from them, which stay'd for him at St. Tome, taking tyme but for 5 or 6 dayes. He return'd without any tydings of it, pretending the unusuall shallownes of the river that he could not goe so high. S^r^. Walter lay'd great fault in him, as if he had not found it through carelessnes, affirming by the Captaine's owne former report (which should seeme to be the greatest ground of this viage) that it should not be above 3 miles from St. Tome, shewing to the captaines and gentlemen a custome-booke found at the taking of St. Tome, where the King of Spain's customes in particular were sett downe for those mynes. Captayne Kemish grew sicke uppon the hard speeches S^r^. Walter gave him, and 10 days after assay'd first to kill himselfe with a pistoll, but fayling that way stab'd himselfe with a kniffe and died presently. The captaines and gentlemen after his death desired to returne home, as it should seeme beeing out of hope of that which they came out for, and had leave of S^r^. Walter, who at 23 of March was at St. Christopher's Iland, with an intent, as it seemes, to keepe the seas; the rest of the ships beeing some 3 leagues from him, and 2 of them bound for the New-found Lands, Captaine Wallington and Captaine Whitny, who was of our College. This is the summe of a long relation which my Lord received but this weeke from Plymmouth, where one Tho. Barewicke, M^r^. of S^r^. Walter Raughlye's ship was examined at his landing. If it be stale newes yet it serves to make up my letter, and I had no better choyce at this tyme. So agayne wishing all good fortune and successe unto you, I rest,

Your loving frend,
OLIVER NAYLOR.

Tawstocke, 15 Maij, [1618.]

I pray you remember me to Mr. Roane.

"To my very loving frend, Mr. John Coosen, at St. Aug. Fryars, at the Reverend Father in God the B^pp^. of Norwich house."

IV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 70.]

S. in Christo.

Good Mr. Coosen,

You bind me by a very kind office unto you. I would it lay in my power to be answerable unto you; my indevor shall not be wanting. But at this tyme I must needs be defective in recompence of newes, which at this tyme our countrey affords not, beeing only busied in harvest matters, and affording little els but bad corne. I could have sent you S^r. Walter Raughlie's Apologie, but that I could not but conceive it to be common at London, and he him selfe is nowe coming towards you, if he out live his poysoning at Salsbury*.

I see the old fortune of the Court to be verified in your newes, that 'tis a slippery place, though I wish our noble Chancellour well for the justice he did us. I am most glad of your Lord's undertaking of this controversie in the Church; and doubt not but he will doe much good by his direction in it. I heare of a briefe declaration he had published before, upon the King's command, which should be frequent at Cambridge, but I never saw it. Some heere have seene it, and (that you may have some newes to be merry with) they say one Dr. Sharpe†, that is beneficed in this shere, hath carried a confutation of it up to the Court. He was of King's College and by divers things he hath done he is knowne to be one that dares play the foole in any thing. If I happen on it you shall not fayle to receive it. So with thankes for your kind letters, and desiring the continuance

* "When Sir Walter was arrived at Plymouth, Sir Lewis Steuckley, Vice-Admiral of the County of Devon, seized him, being commissioned by his Majesty to bring him for London; which could add no terror to a person who could expect nothing less; and was now forced to make use of all the arts imaginable to appease his Majesty, and defer his anger. To which intent Mannowry, a French quack, at Salisbury, gave him several vomits, and an artificial composition, which made him look gastly and dreadful, full of pimples and blisters, and put the cheat upon the very physicians themselves. . . . While he lay under this politique disguise, he penned his Declaration and Apologie, which have sufficiently proved his honourable designs in that voyage, and answered the little calumnies of his enemies."—Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, prefixed to Hist. of the World, p. 42, ed. 1677.

† Lionel Sharp, D.D., of King's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Berks, rector of Malpas in Cheshire, and of Tiverton in Devon. He published *Oratio funebris in Honorem Henrici, Walliæ Principis, propriam atque intimam ejus Effigiem præferens*, &c. Lond. 1612; also *Novum Fidei Symbolum, sive de novis*, &c. Lond. 1612; and *Speculum Papæ, i.e. viva et expressa Antichristi Effigies*, &c., printed in the same year. A translation of these two last works into English was published in 1623. He also published some sermons.—Fasti Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, part i. p. 386. Two letters of Dr. Sharp's, one to King James I., the other to the Duke of Buckingham, are given in Cabala (ed. 1663), pp. 370, 372.

of them as you shall have occasion, I commend you to God's protection.

Your loving freind,
OLIVER NAYLOR.

Tawst:[ock], 7 Aug. [1618.]

"To my very loving frend, Mr. Coosen, at the Reverend father in God the L^d. B^pp. of Norw^ch., in St. Austin fryars."

V.—FROM HENRY BEST TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 84.]

MR. COSIN,

I HOPE I have ordered the busines for a better commission according unto your derection, and I have sente all agayne, as you required. The copy that you sent will serve very well, and in any case put oute nothing that is therein.

I doe wish that my Lord would resolve whether he will have a farmour for thos lands at Ludham, which are letten for 100^li per ann: but at a very hard rate. The most of the lands are arrable, and none of them fitting to doe his Lordship service. Therefor I thinke a good farmour will doe well, which I thinke I may have. But if his Lordship should deferre the letting of it untill his comming, the tyme wilbe past, for farmours will not be to seeke ther dwellings at Mickelmas. Therefore I would be glad to knowe his pleasure herin.

I wrott you word that Mr. Archdeacon Stooks * was like to dye, but thancks be to God he is well recovered, and, I trust, will contenewe until Mickelmas.

Here is such a reporte that my Lorde have graunted the principall Regestership unto Mr. Cory, my Lord Chauncellour's man, and that I have bin asked of it. My answer is that I knowe nothing therein.

I trust his Lordship will not part with that office but upon good conditions, and I feare that Mr. Cory his father is not able to doe aney great matters for his sonne. I hope his Lordship shall make profitt of that offic, and some other things els, and that he shall find good comfort and great honour in his Bishopricke of Norwich.

When my Lord apoynts a certeyne tyme of his comming, send word what beer and other provision shalbe layed in for his Lord-

* Richard Stokes was admitted Archdeacon of Norfolk, April 2, 1587. His successor, Francis Mason, was installed Dec. 18, 1619.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 220.

ship's comming. I have (I hope) made the Pallac fencable agaynst winde and weather. I have done only needfull reparations, which cometh unto a great deale of money. I hope the report of his Majestie's acquitance unto Mistris Jegon is false, and that shee shall pay well for hir Lord's willfull decayes.

I have sent your inclosed Letter unto Mr. Chauncellour his house, but he will not be at home thes 3 or 4 dayes.

If you obteyne a better commission, you must send me a note out of my Lord's Booke of the Revenewes of the Bushopricke, what severall rents and farmes are falne due since the death of my Lord Jegon *, or els I shall have smale use of a better commission.

I have had some talke with Mr. Reve about his lease; his answer is, that he will give my Lord such satisfaction as shall fitt an honest man to make, and prayeth his Lordship to take the cause into his owne hearing.

Lastly, I pray thinke that any service that I may doe his Lordship shall not be thought troblesome, but if I may be able to doe his Lordship aney profitable servic, I shall thinke my tyme happely spent. So praying you to remember my humble dutie unto his good Lordship, and unto our good mistris, with my kinde love unto your selfe, Mr. Rone, and Mr. Hill, and all my frends, I . . . .

Your loving frend,
HENRY BEST.

Norwich, this 7 of August, 1618.

"To my loving frind, Mr. Cosin, Secretary to the Rev^nd. father in God, the Lord Bushope of Norwich, be thes dd."

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* "My lord Jegon," Overall's immediate predecessor, was sometime Master of Bennet college; "a severe governor," says Wood, "yet of a facetious disposition. I will produce instance: While master of the college, he chanced to punish all the undergraduates for some general offence, and the penalty was put upon their heads in the buttery. And because he disdained to convert the money to any private use, it was expended in new whiting the college hall, whereon a scholar set up these verses on the screen:

Dr. Jegon, Bennet colledge master,
Brake the scolars heads and gave the wall a plaister.

To these the doctor subscribed extempore:

Knew I the wag that made
These verses in a bravery,
I would commend him for his wit,
But whip him for his knavery."

Bishop Jegon was buried at Aylesham in Norfolk. His widow, named Lilia, was married in 1619 to Sir Charles Cornwallis.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 811.

VI.—From John Cosin to Mr. Baddeley. [Mickleton MSS. vii. 63.]

Mr. Baddeley,

The suddaine returne of your messenger and the multiplicitie of busines that lies upon me at this time must plead for this short answer to your letter. In this enclosed note you shall see the returnes of some of your dioces whose licenses to preach were either nought or none at all. I have many more names, but cannot by any meanes now find them. Your best course wilbe, as mine was, in your Lord's Visitation, when their instruments are consigned, to sit with the Register, and demaunde of every minister their license, wherby you shall deprehend them which want. One secret I will tell you, which I must entreat you to make a secret still: vj^{d}. a piece you may demaunde of every one of them, either licensed or not, for the exhibition of their license, and keep the profit to your self, howsoever the Register may perhaps challenge it. But I'le assure you they never yet had it. [I] was the first with Mr. Nickins that set it afoot this last . . . . . and therfore you may the more securely demande it . . . . . a good profit may arise in admonishing them which . . . . . licensed, either to take license or cease preaching . . . . . ing to the Canon. Michael Nickins and you may agree . . . . . t this matter, and, if he will, he may set you some other course to get by, as he promised me, if ever we visited together againe. The Books of Articles wilbe challenged by the Register, but I hope you'l be wise enough to denie them. Collect the mony your selfe, els you may have some of it detein'd, as we had at first. They are xij^{d}. apiece. I heare you leave not London yet this long while. If upon better remembrance and leisure I may thinke on any thing to instruct you better, I shall not neglect that office to so good a friende. Thus in much hast I bid you hartily farewell.

Ycur assured
Jo. Cosin.

Norw^{ch}. Bp^{s}. Pallace,
Aprill 4, 1619.

"To my verie loving friend, Mr. Baddeley, Secretary to y^{e} R^{t}. Reverend Father in God y^{e} L^{d}. Bp. of Coven. & Lichfield, These in London."

VII.—From Richard Mountague, Canon of Windsor, &c., to John Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 7.]

Good Jhon, I received the Homilies and Articles, yet I want the Ordering of Bishops. That of Salomon *factum bene!* If any thing else nede disjunction, I give Duresme house *jus* and leave to use me as they will, not so ἀλλόφυλοι et ἀπερίτμητοι. I have sent alone the *omissa* in Purgatory by my brother. I send you by this that to his Preface, if *videbitur:* for otherwise it mattereth not. But, *me temerarium,* that provokes enimyes on all sides, Puritans, Papists, Lawyers, hell and all.

> *Dulychii, Samiique, et quos tulit alta Zacynthus:*
> *Turba ruunt in me* —— *.

So you heare, so you say. But, of fellowship, let me knowe the bug-beares, *qui et quales,* for *jacta est alea.* I am redy not only to be bound but, σὺν Θεῷ, to dye for the Church, *et vivam modo, plura dolebunt,* if this be such a σκόλοψ to them. Ther lawes I knowe not, Godd's lawe I doe, and sacrilege was ever defined unto me to be robbing of God in his due. I pray send me the parties and occasion of those discourses. I can not tell when to see you till the booke be don, viz. *quam maturatò* I pray. I could wish my Lord would shewe the King that preface, it would relish him or distast him happily (*haply*) before. The papers you speake of I can not yet looke at, and, when I have, you can not be edified till I decipher them. For the *Diatribæ,* they may talke and think as they will. No man ever stoped toungs. It is probable I was as well able to go through the whole as the hardest part. If I were not, yet πρὸς ἔπος οὐδὲν, but I could refute that surmise were I disposed. The second parte lyeth by me *effecta* almost †. I have in a sort promised him, at least his frends, that *nihil ultrà,* and unlesse enjoyned or provoked I must kepe truth. If his Majesty will have me do it, go through with him κατὰ πόδα, or handle the Q[uestion] according to those three heads ‡ of the nature and right, use and practice, abuse and sacrilege, I will. But I must not leave, you knowe, his employment without his warrant. My Lord of Duresme may take occasion to tell the King what is thretned me, and so understand his minde for finishing the rest. I am willing enough to do it, can it be don

* Ovid. Epist. Heroidum. i. 87.

† Mountague's *Diatribæ* was published in 1621.

‡ "It were peradventure *pretium operæ,* for any man, or some men, that had meanes, conveniency, and leisure enough, to go thorow with these three parts, The nature and right of Tithes: the use, practice, and payment of Tithes: the abuse and sacriledge in Tithes."—Epistle Dedicatorie to the *Diatribæ.*

fayrely and clerely. Well, howesoever I hope I shall never faile the Church of England, but *usque ad aras* do my best to uphold the doctrine and discipline ther. If this preface take not, then kepe it by you till I come. *Vale*, and commend me to your *ομ* . . . . .

Your assured
Ri. Mountagu *.

Windsore, Jan. 4. [1621.]

Address torn off.

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* It may be convenient to append here a few particulars respecting this eminent scholar and theologian, between whom and Cosin there was evidently the closest intimacy. Richard Mountague was born at Dorney in Bucks, of which his father was vicar. He was educated at Eton, from which he went to King's in 1594, and became Fellow. His first preferment was Wotton Courtenay, Somerset. He afterwards became a prebendary of Wells and Fellow of Eton, where he assisted Sir Henry Savile in the preparation of his edition of Chrysostom. In 1610 he published, in 4to., *The two Invectives of Gregory Nazianzen against Julian, with the Notes of Nonnus*. In 1613 he received the rectory of Stanford Rivers. On the death of Isaac Casaubon he was requested by King James I. to write some animadversions upon the Annals of Baronius, which he began to prepare in 1615. He became chaplain to the King, and, in 1617, was promoted to the deanery of Hereford and a canonry at Windsor. The former preferment he resigned the following year, on being appointed archdeacon of that church. His *Treatise on the Invocation of Saints* was published in 1621, and his *Diatribæ* upon Selden's History of Tithes came out the same year. In 1624 he wrote his *Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants*, a work which raised a bitter outcry amongst the Puritanical party in the Church. Articles were drawn up against him, for the purpose of presentation to Parliament, charging him with Popery and Arminianism. Mountague obtained a copy of these Articles, and applied to the King for protection. He gave him leave to appeal to himself, and to print his defence, if Dr. White, Dean of Carlisle, should approve his doctrine as agreeable to that of the Church of England. This was the origin of his famous treatise *Appello Cæsarem*, which was published in 1625, soon after the accession of Charles I. The book was examined by the House of Commons, and several proceedings taken against him in the first and second Parliaments of that reign. Numbers of answers were published to it, by Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, Dr. Good and Dr. Featly, chaplains to Archbishop Abbot, Burton, Yates, Wotton, Rouse, and Prynne, but especially by Carleton, Bishop of Chichester. He defeated all his opponents, and on the death of Carleton was nominated to Chichester. His *Antidiatribæ ad priorem partem Diatribarum J. Cæsar Bulengeri, adv. Exercitat. Is. Casauboni* appeared in 1625. His *Originum Ecclesiasticarum Apparatus* was published at Oxford in 1635, followed in 1636 by *Originum Ecclesiasticarum, tomus primus*. In 1640 he published *Originum Ecclesiasticarum, pars posterior*. He was translated to Norwich in 1638, where he died in 1641. After his death appeared a posthumous piece, entitled *The Acts and Monuments of the Church before Christ Incarnate*, 1642, fol.; and in 1651 appeared another work, entitled *Versio et Notæ in Photii Epistolas*, with a Latin Preface by Roger Daniel, a learned London bookseller, who had it from Mountague's own hand, prepared for the press.

VIII.—From Oliver Naylor to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 64.]

Mr. Coosin,

I received both your last letters together, for your first beeing enclosed in one to Mr. Skippon lay heere a whole weeke in his absence before I had it. I like the whole substance of your Replie wonderfullie well, and if so be the senior fellowes keepe from making any act against you, or sending any satisfaction to your Lord, 'tis no matter what parlees they have amongst themselves. But hinder that as much as you can by your letters, that those which are for you joyne not in any thing with the rest to the prejudice of the foundation. I have writt once more to Mr. Wake to advice what he does. If failing of a dispensation he will needs give over, lett him commend you for his successor to the Mr and fellowes, which being an ordinary curtisie in all Colleges, will add something to their unkindnes which shall withstand it, at least in your Lord's opinion. If you want tyme, Mr. Wake may conceale his determination, staying at London, which I beleeve will hinder the Mr. a while from pronouncing his place voyd: for he will not now be over hastie. I cannot resolve uppon a suddaine whether it were better for you to petition to the Chancellor * for a stay and hearing of the buisnes, or to get his letter for your selfe, or some other great man's letter. The one certainely wilbe as easie as the other, and perchance more effectuall for you. If you petition, more must joyne, and the ground of it must be some injury pretented to your places. This, if you fasten uppon all the seniors, you will wrong your frends, if uppon the Mr and some of them you confirme divers against you, which perchance may be wonne; besides you give an occasion that some will joyne with the Mr. in answere, who els in all likelyhoode will slip the coller, and indeed this buisnes proceeding from himselfe alone he may be thought worthy to be accus'd alone for setting up of his kinsman against all equitie and practise of the College. So it wilbe likely you shall only loose him whom I beleeve you have lost allready. Yett a generall petition may be drawne, that whereas Mr. Michels is a suiter in the College to succeed in the senioritie against all equitie and right, it would please his Lordship to write to the Mr. and Fellowes that nothing be done to the prejudice of your places, and against the custome and practice of the College. The ground of your recourse to him must be because he is supreme

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge from 1613 to 1626.

Visiter of the College, unto whom the fellowes did allwayes bring their greevances, and by whom they have had so many and so honorable redresses. But if, uppon consideration, you find this course troublesome and chargeable, you may thinke uppon some letter for your selfe, which if it comes from one that must be respected, it will not only make a stop, but effect something on your behalfe, pleading only your woorth and your degree, and the esteeme that your Lord and the Universitie hath of you, and that they would not by a contrary election give an example so much against all equitie and former custome. If a letter to this effect could be gotten presently, your petition may followe after as you see occasion, and if you gett the Chancellor's letter you shall have more cause to come to him againe. But lett your letter or petition be joyntly both to M^r^. and fellowes, and hold you, if you can, to that, that some above heare it, and not the heads of the College, for *manus manum fricat.* My Lord of Rochester * were excellent for that business, whose letter perchaunce may be presently gott for you, and having done that kindnes which he hath to the College, it will certainly be much respected, at least it will give a stop till you be fullie provided. I doe not thinke, if your frends stand firme, that any devolution wilbe made, for the fellowes will never loose their right of election, only they will strayne curtisie who should yeeld to an other, but if yours will hold out there is no feare. And if any of your frends would but make a protestation in the Chappell against the election of any of the . . . . and require of the Register to make an act of it, it may be it would doe some good. But *consilium in arenâ*, a hundred things may happen to advantage the cause, which, if they will but watch and take, a few will doe more then the greater number which are not so resolute. I do fullie agree with you in this, that the M^r^. would have Michels made by the fellowes, and if he cannot prevayle that way, he will not be seene in it. Therefore plie that quarter whatsoever you doe els. If you be not over buisy write a line or 2 every weeke, and I will not fayle to answere. The . . . . petition to the . . . . must serve to prove this, that they did acknowledge heretofore that they had not the same priviledges with the foundation, and that before the . . . . gave over their right, they themselves did make account they were not to succeed. If this be not question'd

* John Buckeridge, S.T.P., was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, June 9, 1611. In 1628 he was translated to Ely.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 251. Buckeridge was Laud's tutor at Oxford, being then Fellow of St. John's. He subsequently became President. He was a learned opponent both of Romanism and Puritanism. Godwin says of him, "tam scribendo quam concionando veritatem Evangelicam haud segniter satagit propugnare."—De Præsul. Angliæ, ed. 1616, p. 584. See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 44.

you may conceale it. Howsoever lett not my hand be seene. I thanke you for the . . . . you sent, and am sorry to heare our convocation should be any way misinclined, but I hope it is but some of them. I pray you send me that Gag, for we have it not heere; only we heare much speaking of it. I thanke you likewise for your newes from both places, and I pray you sometyme remember your occurrences there, especially those of the convocation. For thence we shall heare nothing, unlesse it be from your selfe. So wishing you all good successe, and, without any further complement, desirous to doe you any good office, I rest,

Yours ever,
OLIVER NAYLOR.

Tawst:[ocke,] 19 March, [1623-4.]

It were not amisse if you sollicited Mr. Stokys to be absent at the election, which he may easilie doe by pretending some buisnes abroad.

"To my verie worthie frend, Mr. John Cosin, at Duresme house in the Strond."

IX.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 66.]

MR. COOSIN,

I SHOULD not have wondered at this act in any other College but in Caius College; and of all those that gave their assent to it I marvaile most at Mr. Bachcroft. It is harder now to undoe the knott then to have hinder'd the tying of it, and if you doe not untie it the offer wilbe much to your disgrace. Yett this appeale will not be amisse if you see any probabilitie of effecting any thing in tyme. 'Tis certainly against the Statutes, but extraordinary courses are usuallie taken in extraordinary cases, and no societie dare refuse to answere their superiors. If any fellowe on your side had protested against their proceedings, at the meeting, and desir'd the Registrer to take notice of it, it would much have puzeld them. So we did with Dr. Branthwayte. But it may be remember'd, if you thinke good, at the giving over of the place. I know but one certayne remedie, as the case stands, which the place is not worthie of, and I believe it cannot be so soone effected as need shall require. All præ-elections (howsoever they have bene used) yett they are against the letter of the Statute, for the woords are, *Si locus alicujus socii vacaverit, fiat electio:* so that præ-elections beeing not once named

in the Statutes have no authoritie from them, nor can be maintained by them. Only Election is named, and at that tyme when a place shalbe voyd. If therefore a peremptorie letter could be gotten that you should be chosen into the next place that shalbe voyd, and that delivered before any place be made voyd, I thinke verilie the præ-election cannot hinder it. Because, as I sayd, the Mr. and Fellowes have no power by the Statutes to præelect, but only to elect; nor can any act they doe before the place be voyd hinder an election which is to be made when the place is voyd. But only the King's peremptory Mandat can doe this, which must make them to goe to an election according to the Statutes when the place is voyd, and likewise bind them to choose your selfe, not him againe whome they have præ-elected. But the place in regard of your selfe is not woorth so much trouble as this wilbe. Yett you may thinke of it, and if you like an easier course (though it carry hazard with it) you may gett the Chancelor's letters to the Mr. and Fellowes that no actuall election be made into any place before the case of your foundations be heard. This letter, next to the King's, I thinke wilbe fittest, though any letters, or any act which may stop them from making an election will yett be good. For certainly nothing yett is done that can hinder the election of an other when a place shalbe voyd, though it wilbe verie hard to bring them to choose an other, now they have præ-elected. If you strive in it lett this be excepted against in your appeale, that they have made a præ-election to hinder a free election when a place should be voyd, contrary to the Statute; besides you must name the wrong done to your foundation against all equitie and former practise. You must be secrett and speedie in every thing, for Mr. Husband will give over at an hower's warning. I am sorrie it should come to this, but hitherto you have received no discredit standing for your foundation in so just a cause, but if you proceed still, you must take some course that may probablie take effect against this præ-election, otherwise they will say you stirre out of passion, not out of judgment. But now you see what private respects will doe, though I am perswaded that this is but the beginnings of sorrowe when the choyce hereafter shalbe made of those only which shalbe thought serviceable. Me thinkes he should have done my Lord that respect as to have condemn'd yoùr cause by some hearing of the company, or at least have given some satisfaction himselfe unto it. But *frustrà sit per plura*, &c. I will thinke of it seriously against the next returne, if I may perchance advice any thing woorth following. But I lacke the Statutes, which Mr. Allen, if he will, may send to you. I thanke you for your bookes which I shall receive this next Sunday, and I will write to you of them the next weeke.

Mr. Hartly very kindly remembers himselfe to you, of whome likewise you shall heare more particularly in my next letter. I am now dispatching other letters to my Lord's, and therefore cannot enlarge this any further. So with all good wishes to you, I rest,

Yours ever,
O. Naylor.

(Undated.)

"To my veric worthie freind, Mr. John Coosin, at Duresme howse, in the Strand."

X.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 65a.]

Mr. Coosin,

That which I writt of præ-elections is most certayne. They have no warrant nor foundation in the Statute, nor can any custome make them good, because there is a Statute to this effect, that no custome against the Statutes should be of force. I am likewise fullie perswaded that if the meanes should be used in tyme, this præ-election would take no effect, because the Mr. and Fellowes may be enfors't to choose againe when a place shalbe voyd, and otherwayes then they have præ-elected. But I hold not so fitt that you should proceed by the way of Mandat, unlesse it may be gott verie easilie. If it may be so, it were not amisse that you were senior fellowe, though but a short tyme, for other things that depend on it, as I have heretofore told you. And certaynly this would bring them to a new election, and restrayne them to a new person. Though the other course by the Chancellor will prove the easier, and it may be likewise effectuall. For if you can gett your owne Lord and my Lord of Rochester to assist the Chancellor, you shall make knowne the right of your succession, what wrong you have hitherto suffer'd in want of your admissions, and how farre this præ-election is against the Statutes; and it may be in all of them you shall have redresse. Besides, you may gett there an Order made for succession, such as may be reasonable and conscionable, which if you can doe, you shall doe a perpetuall good to the College by taking away differencies in heereafter in elections, and by giving some libertie unto the poore junior fellowes, who, as they are now, are slaves to the vices and defects of the seniors, and not only beare with all indignities, but, as you knowe, are fayne to be pertakers of unseemly courses. If you goe this way, you must suddainly gett out inhibition from the Chancellor to the Mr. and Fellowes, that they make no election

unto any place that is or shalbe voyd, until the right of succession and other greevances of Franckland's foundation be heard and examin'd, and some day appoynted for the hereing of it by the Chancellor himselfe at London, unto which they bring likewise these Statutes, the donation of your places, and especially the Annales. It must be heard at London in any case, not at Cambridge, and you must be furnished for the right of your succession, and of the unlawfullnes of this præ-election. I thinke one thing must needs fall out by it, that, either in this or in the next election, they will give your Lord satisfaction in your selfe. But, if Mr. Husband give over before you, gett an inhibition: (which is much to be feared, especially if they heare at Cambridge of any stirring against them) there is no possibilitie of overthrowing the new election which shalbe made when the place is voyd, and if it be so allready, or shalbe so, all you can doe is to do some good for the tyme to come, which if you can doe conveniently, and without much trouble, it wilbe woorth your labour; but you have no reason to undergoe either much charges or much trouble. Further then this I see not to be done, for as for your appeale, if you gett an inhibition, you shall have no use of it; and if they make a new election when the place shalbe voyd, the appeale for the præ-election will not serve the turne, unlesse they make no new election, which if they should not doe, the former præ-election and admission will not be enough, and in that case it devolves to the Mr. after the first month, and, I thinke, after the second month unto the Chancellor. And this you may secretly inquire after, if there be allready, or when there shalbe an admission past, whether they made a new election, or no, *per viam scrutinii*. The Parlament would certainly referre this cause to the Visitors, if you should bring it there, and ten to one Dr. Caius' Visitors would come in, the Provost of King's, and the Mr. of Bennet, and the Senior Phisition; therefore, if you doe stirre in it, goe to the Chancellor, that you may stand something uppon even ground. You must resolve suddenly, and I would it were, as I could wish, in my power to give you assistance: but being no fellowe amongst them I can but wish well, and I dare not write to any but your selfe about it in regard of the Dr., whome I am loth to discontent at the parting. Though I feare me my letters would doe little amongst them; a man is so soone forgotten when he is gon, that now since I came last from London I received not one letter from Cambridge, though I have written, I thinke, ten thither. But let not these things trouble you, whatsoever the successe of them be: you must and shall find rubbs in the world, in the justest and equallest cause. The attempt was honest and worthy, and amongst them that are so I dare say

they will have more discredit in their conquest then you in the crosse. We heare of divers accusations against my Lord of Norwich*, agreable, for the most part, to your relation; but I doubt not but he will quitt himselfe sufficiently. Mr. Montague is every where with his Gagger, like a gyant against a pigmy. I could . . . . wish't him a stronger adversary . . . . this perchance may provoke some of the Triarean bond. I doe not wonder that some are offended, but God's blessing on his hart for redeeming our Church from those scandalls that Kelliston † and the rest layd upon us, and were never yett answer'd by any of the Sutcliffes. I pray God send him the hart and leysure to doe the like for the primitive Church against Baronius. It would be a woorke of all others of the highest merritt for the protestant Church. I have not yett gon through the Vindication of Causobon ‡, but certaynly by that I have read you need not doubt but the impostore is dead and buried with all men of understanding: for the rest, they are not to be regarded who will not be perswaded though they be never so well perswaded. I pray you commend me to Mr. Wake, when you chance to see him; for I

* Samuel Harsnett, afterwards Archbishop of York, who succeeded Overall in the See of Norwich. He was "complained of in the Parliament house; there being twelve churches in Norwich, and 3000 communicants, he would have them all receive in one church, which would not hold 2000; and silenced all the preachers that preached in the forenoon, and caused images to be set up in churches, and the picture of the Holy Ghost over the font; and excommunicated many, and would not absolve them under 20*l.* a piece. The King commended him for it. [*Afterwards added,* in his speech at the dissolving of the house, and willed all the bishops to do the like]."—Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq., 1624 (pub. by Camden Society), p. 75.

† Matthew Kellison, a native of Northamptonshire, and a divine of some eminence in the Romish Church. He was educated in the English College at Douay, of which he ultimately became President, in 1613. He died January 21, 1641, aged 81. He was the author of *The Gagg of the Reformed Gospel,* in answer to which Mountague wrote his celebrated *Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants.* He also wrote several other controversial works, amongst the rest *A Survey of the new Religion:* Douay, 8vo, 1603; to which Matthew Sutcliffe published an answer, entitled *A Survey of Popery,* against Kellison's *Survey of the new Religion:* Lond. 4to, 1606. To this Kellison issued a rejoinder, under the title of *A Reply to Sutcliffe's answer to the Survey of the new Religion:* Rheims, 8vo, 1608. An account of his life and a list of his writings may be found in Dodd's Church Hist. iii. pp. 88—91.

‡ A book was published in London in 1624, purporting to be the work of Isaac Casaubon, under the title of *The Original of Idolatries, or the Birth of Heresies. First faithfully gathered out of sundry Greek and Latin authors, as also out of divers learned Fathers, by that famous and learned Isaac Casaubon, and by him published in French for the good of God's Church, and was translated into English for the benefit of this monarchy, by Abraham Darcie.* The book was dedicated to Prince Charles, and presented to King James I. and all the Lords of the Council. Meric Casaubon, deeming his father's reputation much injured by this publication, wrote his *Vindicatio patris adversus Impostores, qui librum ineptum et impium de origine Idololatriæ nuper sub Isaaci Casauboni nomine publicarunt.* Lond. 1624, 4to.

thinke he and I have given over writing letters one to an other, wheresoever the fault is. So with my best wishes for you, I rest,

Yours ever,

OLIVER NAYLOR.

Tawst:[ocke,] 21 Maij, 1624.

"To my very worthy freind, Mr. John Coosin, at Durham howse in the Strand."

XI.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 65b.]

S. AB AUTHORE SALUTIS.

MR. COOSIN,

YOU may well thinke that I wonder at these proceedings in the College. It was once firmely resolv'd uppon by all the fellowes that none but those which were incorporated into the College, and were chosen by the Mr. and fellowes, should succeed into the senioritie; and to that purpose both my selfe and divers others indevour'd that . . . . . might give over their right unto his fellowships, and that a decree of succession might be made to take away future doubt and difference when any senior place should be voyd. But that succeeding not, (which for myne owne part I allwayes thought the safest course for the peace of the College,) I cannot but wonder at this new intent that the fellowes will make choyce out of their owne foundation. It may be they send you woord of that which is suspected, not of that which is intended, or at most an offer may be made a farre off, to see how the company would be inclined, or whether Frankland's foundation would lett it passe easilie. The best of it is Mr. Wake's place is nott in his owne power, and I am perswaded he will not give an occasion of so much wrong as this wilbe. For your owne proceeding in it you shall have my advice as I heare from you, so I may relie uppon your seecresie that no man living shall knowe of it. As yett the egg is but hatching, and you do well not to take notice of it. But inquire who of the company wilbe certaine for the foundation, and who stand as neuters. Gett likewise a coppie of Dr. Perse's will, so farre as concernes his places, with the first decree in the College of acceptance, and the record they made when you were chosen. Mr. Allen and Mr. Bachcroft*, I thinke, have them all. Gett likewise the Persians' petition to the fellowes, and the fellowes' answere to it; for in them both themselves and the fellowes did acknowledge that they had no right of succession before they were incorporated. Make not your selfe in any case a head

* Afterwards Master of Caius.

of the buisnes, nor trouble not your Lord your selfe in it, because it is not your owne course to succede, but lett Mr. Warden followe it, if there be occasion. Mr. Wake shall certainly give you a quarter of a yeare's warning beforehand what he meanes to doe with his place, but that likewise you must keepe secrett. If you speake with Dr. Goslin* lett it be done in all faire manner, and request only that he would not give that example in his tyme that any should be chosen into the senior place that is not incorporated into the College, nor chosen by the Mr. and fellowes.

I thanke you for your newes, and for the name of the author you sent me, which I thinke I shall gett heere. All remember themselves kindly unto you who are of your acquaintance. So expecting sometymes to heare from you, I rest,

Yours ever,

OLIVER NAYLOR.

13 June. [1624.]

I thinke I come not to London till towards Michaelmas. But I will send you shortly more certayne woord.

Since I writt that before, I understand Mr. Skippon hath bene at Cambridge, whose meeting was one of the principall ends of my jorny there so soone. But since I have fayl'd of that, unfortunately, I purpose not, as farre as I yett know, to come your way till towards Michaelmas. I have heard something likewise that confirmes your letter about the former buisness, but gett the writings I have nam'd unto you, and lett me understand what further is intended and done, and I will not fayle, God willing, to returne answere. Yett allwayes remember that the small places in the Universities are rather hindrances then helpes, and followe your hopes with your Lord, and use him rather in those things that will stand by you, then these things you must leave. So he advices you that wishes and prayes for as much good for you as any frend you have in England.

OLIVER NAYLOR.

"To my very loving frend, Mr. John Coosin, at Durham howse in the Strand."

XII.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 63.]

SIR,

I THINKE I acquainted you the last summer with the tenents of a Puritan heere amongst us, who, amongst other things, defended that there was no ordinarie meanes of salvation in that congre-

* Master of Caius.

gation that had only the publique prayers, the reading of Scriptures and the reading of homilies, the administration of the Sacraments, &c., concluding nothing to be avaylable that way, but only the hearing of sermons, and such likewise as they made. Divers oppos'd him, but amongst the rest one Mr. John Downe *, sometyme fellow of Emmanuell College, gave so great satisfaction in a sermon at a Visitation, that his fellow ministers have persuaded him to publish the same, thinking he will doe much good both heere and in other places by it. He purposes to send it to London by Mr. Skippon to Mr. Blunt, about a fortnight hence, and having not acquaintance there to have a litle care of the comming forth of it, he intreated me to write to some about it, and you see I have made bold to do so to you, requesting your furtherance in it, if Mr. Skippon (as I thinke he will) doe come unto you. The gentleman is a verie learned scholler, to whome you shall doe the kindnes, of whome I thinke Dr. Lindsel † can tell you, being of that note in Cambridge that he answered the Act at St. Marie's when he commenc'd Bachelor of Divinitie. But besides him you shall oblige my selfe, and divers others, who are verie desirous of the comming forth of the Sermon. So having not any newes to send you from this corner of the world, I commend you to God's protection, and rest

Yours ever,

Oliver Naylor.

Marwoodd, 11 Maij. [1624.]

"To my verie worthie freind, Mr. John Coosin, at Durham house in the Strond, these."

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* John Downe, B.D., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, presented by his college to the vicarage of Winsford, in Somersetshire. He afterwards became Rector of Instow, in Devonshire, where he died about 1631. Ten of his treatises (the first of which is *A treatise concerning the force and efficacy of Reading*) were published after his death by Dr. George Hakewill his neighbour (Oxon. 1633, 4to.), together with a funeral sermon by the editor, as also an epistle by Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter, containing many encomiums of Downe. Some other works of his were printed, Lond. 1635, 4to.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, pt. i. p. 286.

† Augustine Lindsell, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, formerly Fellow of Clare Hall. He was also a Prebendary of Lincoln, and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, co. Durham. He was made Dean of Lichfield in 1628, and Bishop of Peterborough in 1632. In the following year he was translated to Hereford, where he died, Nov. 6, 1634. He owed both deanery and bishopric to the friendship of Laud. But, "to say truth," says Heylin, "the man deserved it, being a very solid divine, and a learned linguist, to whom the Christian world remains indebted for Theophylact's Comment on the Epistles, and the *Catena* upon Job, published by him both in Greek and Latin."—Cyp. Angl. p. 215. His edition of Theophylact was published after his death, by Dr. Thomas Bayly, who had been his chaplain. In the Preface to the Reader, Lindsell is characterized as "vir omni literarum genere excultissimus." Reyner in his Apostol. Benedict. Tract. i. p. 78, mentions him as "doctissimum virum D. Augustinum Linselium." His name will be found to recur perpetually in the correspondence between Mountague and Cosin.

XIII.—From Richard Mountague to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 37.]

Ἐσθλὰ καὶ λυγρὰ μεμιγμένα. Honest Ihon, I was sory at your relation, for my Lord of Durham's just cause of greife in the losse of his brother*; as also that *Puritani rapiunt Episcopatum,* yet this is alleviated, that it is but one for another, and *in remotis*†; whereby, I hope, we shalbe rid of him. But your good successe every way gladden'd me much, especially that of Greatham house‡, yet for all that dreame not of going *ultra anni solisque vias.* We have nede of you nerer home; nay *Dominus opus habet,* who, I hope, will every day raise up some to stand in the gapp against Puritanisme and Popery, the Scilla and Charybdis of antient piety. God reward my Lord of Durham's good zeale and service, that *Achilles pro Castaliis. Cæteri ferè sua quærunt.* I doubt not of his constancy and continuance, having such an assurance as God and the King. I doubt not but that by the sword of God and Gedeon we are. Is it possible his Majesty should so thinck of me a pore worme, but a gatherer of sticks for to make a fire in the sanctuary, as to convent that informer, and so nere to take it to heart? I can not expresse what I thinck. I were too ungratefull if I did not adventure *extremum potentiæ* for the Church, having such incouragement at my Soveraign's hand. God reward him ten thousand fold in himself and his for ever, that is, if ever any was, of the royall rank, *Nutritius Ecclesiæ* §. Remember my service to his Lordship, my love to Austen ||, Dan. Berket ¶, etc. *Vale amicorum alpha, καὶ αγωνίζου τον καλὸν ἀγωνα.* Ju. 28. [1624.] Pettworth.

R. Mountague.

"To the wᵗˡ. my worthie freind Mr. Ihon Cosen, at Durham house, this."

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* Namely, William Neile, Master of Greatham Hospital.—Surtees' Hist. Durh. iii. 137.

† The Bishopric of Carlisle was then vacant. Richard Senhouse was consecrated Bishop of that See, Sept. 16, 1624. He was formerly Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and Dean of Gloucester in 1621.—Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 103, 335. Bishop Senhouse was the preacher at the Coronation of Charles I.—See Eachard's Hist. ii. p. 30.

‡ On June 22, 1624, Cosin was appointed Master of Greatham Hospital, vacant by the death of William Neile, the Bishop's brother.—Surtees' Hist. Durh. iii. p. 137.

§ Mountague gives this appellation to James I. in his *Diatribæ* upon Selden's History of Tithes, p. 85.

|| Dr. Augustine Lindsell. See note on preceding page.

¶ Daniel Birkhead, D.D., Prebendary of Durham. He was rector of Winston, co. Durham, and in 1610 was collated to Eggleschiffe. He died in 1624, and was buried in the Cathedral at Durham. "1624. Mr. Dr. Birkett was buried, Nov. 27."—Cath. Reg.

XIV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 47.]

Ihon, I sent you last weeke, by my brother Scul *, a schedule as much as came to my hands of Puritan collections against my booke, contraring, as they say, the Articles and Homilies. I suppose Dr. Prideux did collect them; att leastwise I believe Featley can tell the author. Prideux hath thretned to write against me. *Utinam.* But I thinck he distrusteth himself at his pen. For he saide to my Lord of Oxford, as Ed: Boughen told me, that though I were a good scholer at my pen, and wrote well, yet he doubted not but att an argument he could plunge me. The man thincketh well of him self, yet if K. James please I dare looke him in the face in his owne scholes. But lett him passe for a Puritan, yet God graunt he, nor any such, come to the Bishop of Glocester, who is, they say, dead †. My Lord of S. David's must nowe and in such cases putt for the Church with the Duke, and use his greate creditt, that we be not swallowed up with a Puritan Bishopriqry. I was once purposed to have told him howe graciously the Duke used me att Windsore last St. George's day, and that *motu proprio.* He bad me rely upon him, and none but him, and lett him knowe what preferment I desired, and I should have it. And that he spake not as a courtier, but as my reall, true and constant friend. I have had no opportunity since to speake with him. I have no acquaintance in his house. I am not like in hast to troble him by plunging upon any thing, if my Lord of S. David's, you relating this unto him, will do me the favour, as att next opportunity, to remember my service unto his Grace, and to putt him in minde of his gracious promise, and to lett him understand that I am att his Grace's service, where, or when, or howsoever he shalbe pleased to dispose of me, I shall rest beholding to his Lordship, and happily [*haply*] the Church shall loose nothing by it. If not, I am contented, being, I thanke God, well provided for in my private estate, and better then I should be were I a Bishop, which I would not undertake but for the Churche's sake, and with greater countenance to oppose the Puritans, and be the freer from every skip-jack's opposition and censure.

I do purpose to write the Gagg anew, both because in a second edition the author hath altered, detracted, augmented much, as

* Who may probably be identified with John Scull, M.A., of Merton College, Oxford. He published two sermons on St. Matt. x. 16, in 1624, 4to. He appears to have been afterwards rector of Shinfold in Sussex, where he died in 1641.—Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, pt. ii. 366.

† Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester, died Oct. 20, 1624.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 102.

also because I would answere my detractors; therfore, as I wrote to you, I would my Lord of Duresme would procure of my Lord Keper my answere to Yates and Ward *, and either shewe it the King, or send it me to reveiwe.

Commend me to Lindsell, and bid him remember his promise concerning Dr. Combers. I purpose to go upon Saturday next, God willing, to Pettworth. If you write not till then direct your letter thether. *Vale.* God kepe his Church.

Your assured,

R. MOUNTAGU.

Windsore, Octob. 24. [1624.]

"To the w[ll]. my most respected freind, Mr. Ihon Cosens, Chaplyn to the Reverend L. B. of Durham, att his house, be this."

XV.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 16.]

HONEST MR. COSEN,

I THANCK you as allwayes and ever, so for your last advertisements. For those Oxford braggarts I feare them not; ther pens nor pratinge. As for that princox you speake of, the pore puny may happily [*haply*] hereafter barke, his biting I expect not: only it angers [me] they prate so much and performe so little. If he can doe so much there is paper enough in Oxford to scribble on. He knoweth my woning †, lett me se what he can say. Though he

* "Yates and Ward, two preachers in Ipswich."—Collier, vol. II. b. viii. p. 279.

† *Woning* probably here signifies his manner, custom, or *wont*. It may also mean his *dwelling*. Spenser uses the word *wonne* in this latter sense:

"What secret place, quoth he, can safely hold
So huge a masse, and hide from heaven's eye?
Or where hast thou thy *wonne*, that so much gold
Thou canst preserve from wrong and robbery?"

Fairy Queen, II. vii. 20.

He also very frequently uses the verb *to wonne*, in the sense of *to dwell*. Nares gives an instance in his Glossary:

"Not far away, quoth he, he hence doth *wonne*,
Foreby a fountaine, where I late him left."

Ib. I. vi. 39

The Editor's friend, Canon Raine, of York, furnishes him with the following instances of the use of this word.

By will dated April 29, 1505, John Elwald, Alderman of York, leaves, "to the pore folkes *wonnyng* in the houses in the Hors-fare, viij[d]." And by his will dated Aug. 16, 1530, Sir Edmund Cook, vicar of Acclam, co. York, leaves "to Johanne Agawbsen, *wonyng* some tyme at Nonne brynholme, v[s]."

On a piece of needlework at Browsholme in Lancashire is this:—

"I pray God blesse the life
Of Master Edmund Parker, his wife,
And all the children that with him *wonnes*,
His five daughters and seven sonnes."

Description of Browsholme, p. 7.

print it not here he may beyond seas. Att least in private he may send it to me, or meete me somewhere, that I may feele *qui vir fiet.* Empty casks sound loudest. But the Parliament must back him or he can not stand. *Evohe!* I hope King James will stand to me, or lett us try it out. If you knowe any that will tell him agayne, bid him say to him from me that if he hath any thing to say to me I will answere him. Howsoever, *quod scripsi, scripsi.* I have sent for my papers from my Lord Keper, and have them: therefore let your Lord supersede from asking. When I have don, if he will shewe it the King, I will send them to him, if not, so. I will kepe them agaynst imployment, and for my self and friends. I am, God willing, for Pettworth *cras.* Therefore hereafter, *si quid opus,* direct your letters thether from Chaucer's Inne, the Tabard, in Southwerk. Upon Wensday morning our carrier setteth out. I will remember you to one that doth not a little bragg of you. Our Dr. Goodman I knowe would have Glocester *, and is gon up about it upon Wensday last, but sent his man instantly upon report of the decease of Milo Smith. But I pray God he misse it, if it be as I heare that a Scottishman must come to us *per saltum.* I hope Dr. Theodore Price † shall have it, who is as much talk'd of, and altogether att my Lord Keper's. I am sure he loveth the Church, and is a wise man. For my Lord of S. D[avid's] about the particular I wrote, I merveile not. I smell a ratt. But I hope to see him one day where he will both do and say for the Church. *Interim,* if someways he concede, I blame him not. *Dulce est desipere in loco.* No more att present but God blesse you. I am booted and can not enlarge.

Send this inclosed I pray to my brother . . .

Tuissimus,

Oct^rbr 30. [1624.] R. MOUNTAGU.

Address torn off.

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* Godfrey Goodman, S.T.P., was elected Bishop of Gloucester, Nov. 26, 1624, confirmed March 5, and consecrated at Lambeth next day. His bishopric was sequestered in 1640. He died Jan. 19, 1655, and was buried in the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster.—Le Neve, p. 102. He was one of the Canons of Windsor, which accounts for the term "*our* Dr. Goodman."—Ib. p. 385.

† Dr. Theodore Price, sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, afterwards Subdean of Westminster and Prebendary of Winchester. Prynne says that "Laud did endeavour to promote him to a Welsh bishoprick, but was opposed by Philip, Earl of Pembroke, so Dr. Morgan Owen was preferred in his stead. This Price lived and died a professed unpreaching epicure and Arminian, and died a reconciled papist to the Church of Rome, having received extreme unction from a popish priest," &c.—Canterbury's Doom, &c., p. 355. Fuller says that Bishop Williams endeavoured to procure the Archbishopric of Armagh for him, but was prevented by the intervention of the Duke of Buckingham.—Church Hist. b. xi. § 17. Dr. Price died Dec. 15, 1631, and was buried at Westminster.—Fasti

XVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 11.]

Good Mr. Cosen,

I have my answere with me, and am disposing of it by adding what hath come to my hands since, changing, &c. So soone as I have don, and I will make all possible hast, I will send it you. I am somewhat hinder'd, for att my returne to Pettworth upon Saturday I found your little wife * very sick, and since she hath been at death's dore, nor is yet well. An empostume brake in her. The bagg is come up, I thanke God. But she compleyneth of her head and stomacke much. The remaynes are, I feare, behind. If you can meet with Sir Wm. Paddy † remember me to him, and desire his advise what to do. We have no phisitions in theise parts worth a beane. God hath ben her best phisition, or she had died. I would gladly have those reliques disperst. The empostumation was in her stomacke. Before it came up she bled much at nose. Yet by snatches I do procede to perfect my answere, which is so written that my Lord may well showe it unto the King, unto whom for better addresse I will direct and dedicate it. I can not inlarge. If you have any newes lett us have them. *Vale.*

Your assured,
Ri. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
Nov. 4. [1624.]

"To the wr.shipfull my very especiall good freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, att Durham house, be this."

XVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 13.]

Good honest Mr. Cosen,

I shall send you my answere, I hope, the next weeke unto my Informers, though composed *tempore sævissimo*. My little Mall hath ben desperately sicke ever since my returne from Windsore,

Oxon. pt. i. 358. An account of his death and reconciliation to the Church of Rome is given in Hacket's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, 1693, ii. p. 97.

* Mountague's little girl, who seems to have had a strong childish attachment to her father's friend. We read in a subsequent letter that she will have none but Mr. Cosin for her Valentine.

† Sir William Paddie, M.D. of the University of Leyden, and incorporated of St. John's College, Oxford. He was an eminent physican, and was in attendance upon James I. in his last illness. He died in 1634, and was buried in St. John's College chapel, where a long epitaph upon his tombstone records his eminence as a physician and his various benefactions.—See Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, part i. pp. 256, 287.

and whether you shall ever see her more in this world or I enjoy her long I can not tell. I feare no. God must worke wonders if so. My joy, my greife! Till that come I send you this, a part of my answere to Bulenger for Mr. Casaubon. If you like it and you can gett it printed do. It will [be] a book it self, though it be not the half of what I have don. Commend me to Dr. Lindsell, though I thinke he hath forgotten me. Tell him his hostesse, a widow by the way, at Chichester, is in love with the impresse and motto of his ring. (What passed *inter partes* then?) She desireth a sample to make one for her self, and desired my wife, being at Chichester last weeke about my child, to procure. This in breife. I am in the house of mourning, therefore I can not laugh. You and my Lord of St. David's may. If you write, lett me have some newes, *de* Bishoprickes and Denryes, and who it was would have putt my L[ord] K[eeper] out of Westminster lately, for so we heard at Pettworth. *Vale.*

Your assured,

Nov. 14. [1624.] R. M.

Our newes is that Sir R. Weston * shalbe Lord tresurer. *Faxit.* So if so, good Jhon, use all the strength you can to bring my brother Jh. Scull into his house. Will. Lakes, you knowe, can do all with him, and Will, I hope, will do any thing for us. *Interest Ecclesiæ* to have some of our side in such places, and he wilbe no great charge, being beneficed in towne.

"To the w[ll]. my worthie frind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, att Duresme house."

XVIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 51.]

Honest Jhon,

My love remembred. I received your letter of Nov. 11, upon Novemb. 18, with the receipt from S[r]. Wm. Paddy. I trust I

* Sir Richard Weston, Knt., son of Sir Hierome Weston, of Roxwell in co. Essex, Knt. He was a person of great ability, and was sent as ambassador in 1619, accompanied by Sir Edward Conway, into Bohemia, to heal the breach between the Emperor and the Elector Palatine. In the year following he was sent to Brussels, to treat with the ambassadors of the Emperor and King of Spain concerning the restitution of the Palatinate. Soon after this he was made Chancellor and under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, by patent dated 19 James, and on the 25th May, 1624, he had a commission to execute the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer during the king's pleasure. On the 13th April, 1628, he was made a peer by the title of Lord Weston of Neyland, and on the 15th July following was constituted Lord Treasurer of England. He was subsequently made a Knight of the Garter, and, in 1632, created Earl of Portland. One of his daughters married Basil, son of William Earl of Denbigh.—Dugdale's Baronage, iii. 460.

shall not nede it. God hath heard my ernest, and devoute inded, prayers, and blessed, I hope, the means we used for Mall, of an honest physition, one Mr. Buttler of Chichester, and I veryly thinck I may add yet more to my experimented efforts. *Scis quod velim.* In breife, my little girle, your Mall, I hope will live, and hath revived me after much dejection.

For your proposition, first, because it is of most moment, of exchaunge. Thus it is. You can not, must not, will not, live upon any living in Essex as yet, though Orsett were voyde tomorrowe. My Lord can not, will not misse you. Therfore for residence, were Mr. Shawe's benefice worsse in regard of ayre, it skilled not, but the valewe *non est tanti* to pursew it. I thought, and so, I thinck, Mr. Shawe once told me, it had ben clerely worth 140^{li} per annum. If it be but 120 toward all charges, *si me audies, transeat cum onore.* Stapleford, which is Caladrines *, is better then that by Chelmsford, for you say *viis et modis* it is worth but 100^{li} per annum. Stapleford, I thinck, is more. Ihon Scull can tell you to an hayre. The seate is good, the house not very good, but you will not much troble that, nere London, some 3 houres riding; a good neighbor, S^{r}. Tho. Edmunds†, though somewhat Pur[itanical] I must confesse. If it be no worse then I conceive it, but aske my brother, *omni modo* take it, though I thincke I shall not be much in Essex, nor you, yet is it feisable for a good exchaunge, if occasion be, because it is so well for London.

Nowe to my Informers. I have sent you what I thought fitt to answere. The particulars you shall finde in reading. I desire the King may se it, and be acquainted with the generall att least. Therfore, as sone as you can, send them downe; but *quidquid fiet,* desire Austen to have a care they miscary not, for I have no perfect copy. There are certayne personall touches sometime, as you shall finde. If they may be printed sine [*sign*] them, I shalbe contented; for my only end and scope in them was but to have the King take notice, not regarding the publication of

* Cæsar Calendrinus, of Exeter College, Oxford. He was by birth a German, and a learned theologian of the Puritan school. He was much beloved by Archbishop Usher, who took him with him into Ireland, and there, as it is said, preferred him. [Cæsar Calendrinus, cler. admiss. ad rect. de Stapleford Abbatis, com. Essex, 26 Junii 1620, per resign. Godefridi Goodman, ad pres. Caroli principis Walliæ, quam resignavit antè 26 Febr. 1640. *Reg. Laud.* KENNETT.]—Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, pt. ii. p. 394.

† Sir Thomas Edmonds, Knt., was Treasurer of the Household from 1618 to 1639. He was in the meantime ambassador to France. "Out of France we have had no news this fortnight. Sir Thomas Edmondes being now daily expected here, who, at his coming away from that court, had a present of 1800*l.* in plate bestowed upon him, and a coach worth 300*l.*"—Letter from Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., March 10, 1629. Court and Times of Charles I., vol. ii. p. 65.

those particulars, if the Answere may be printed. Howsoever I referre that to his Lordship, only I desire the King may see, knowe, take notice of it, *si possibile*, to which end I have addressed it unto him. I must confesse *in mala tempora incidimus*, especially when every man is *propinquior sibi*. I can not tell how nor whie God drewe me in, or permitted to be drawn, but seing it is so, I must not, will not, being putt in to it, *prodere causam Dei et Ecclesiæ, quo res cunquè cadet*.

———— παρ' ἐμοίγε καὶ ἄλλοι,
Οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς *.

It is trewe that you say, *Oblatrant in minoribus constituto*. They durst not ἐπισκοπευοντι. But the old heroes sought it not. If God know me fitt, εὑρήσει κἄξ ἀμήχανων πόρον. I commend my papers to your use and fidelity, only *resciscam* that you have received them. What you will do with them *utere judicio*.

Thancke Sr. Wm. Paddy, and send me a note that I may pay the apothecary. If you can gett me out an Austen of a good print expresst out of the Lovain, I will send you mony, for I want one here. I thincke I shall not see you till next terme. Desire Linsell to remember my business to Dr. Combers. It is to knowe whether he will exchange his benefice direct in the way *inter* Windsore et Pettworth, within 12 miles of Windsore. *Quod si, valete Episcopatus. Vale.*

Your assured ever,
Ri. Mountague.

Pettworth, Nov. 22. [1624.]

"To the wll. my worthie and much respected freind, Mr. Iohn Cosen, Chapleyn to the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, these. Att Durham house. Bring an answer of ye delivery."

XIX.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 40.]

Good Ihon, my best love remembred. God, I thancke him, hath heard my prayers and yours. My little Mall is come out of her chamber and mendeth every day, so that I have no nede to give her that which Sr. Wm. Pady sent: unto whom, when you se him, remember my thancks. For my papers, I was very carefull that the last should come especially safe unto you, as I understand they did. It is true I have ben particular in going along with them κατὰ πόδα, but I did it for my owne advantage,

* Homer. Iliad. A. 175.

that all their folly might be knowne at full; and to avoide cavelling of taking some passages only. I could wish it myght be printed with all my heart, but the particular passages of the Professor of Oxford Dr. Featly, etc., I desire only the King may take notice of them, and then *incumbant in spongiam*. So if you informe my Lord it will do well. If they be not printed I will bring in much in my second edition, answering the Gag[ger's] second Edition, in which because he hath added [and] altered very much, it was necessary I should take notice of it and do so to. I am in hand therwith * and therein I will not either balke or conceale any doctrine of our Church, as I did in faling away from grace. My intent is, as I have don in the Appeale, to *advocare testimonium Epi Lichfeld*, as often as I can, because he hath stickled against me; and if I had the books of the Archbishop against Hill †, and Abbott's ‡ against Bishop. You have them, or may have them. If your leisure will serve, cursorily see what they say in points that I am Papiste for. For that for Casaubon etc. I have the rest finished; but theise *βάνανσοι typographi* are *telluris inutile pondus, lucripetæ mali*, Lownes *inter primos*. If you have acquaintance with Fetherston of the contrary faction see what he will doe, either here, or if not so, att Francford, or elswhere. I may doe him as good a turne, for if he will do it I will never have to do with Lownes more. If it faile, the King must be told that children are come *ad partum*, and ther is no means to bring forth. For your exchange, take the most advantageous for your purse, seing you can not have Caladrin's. That house you speake of will not serve you many a yere, and *interim, Deus videbit* and *providebit*. Happely it is not intended by him you shall live in Essex; and whersoever you settle, or howsoever, you may exchange any thing, and the more of value, the more feisable ever. Shawe is potent, and forward it semeth, therfore make most advantage of him and his present desire. I have Pettworth and Windsore in to [*two*] extremityes. Could I have Worpston *in medio* just betweene, I were excellently accommodated for Stanford. Dr. Combers hath it. I can have the patron if the Dr. will exchange, which Linsell promised to effect. This

* It was published in Dec., 1624. See Heylin's Cyp. Angl. p. 120.

† The title of the book is as follows:—*The Reasons which Dr. Hill hath brought for the Upholding of Papistry, unmasked, and shewed to be very weak*, &c. Oxon. 1604, 4to. It was written in answer to one entitled, *A Quartron of Reasons of Cath. Religion, with as many brief Answers of Refusal*. Antwerp, 1600, 4to., written by Tho. Hill, D.D., then living at Phalempyne, beyond the sea, who a little before had left the Church of England and embraced the Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

‡ Robert Abbot, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Sarum, who wrote a book entitled, *A Defence of the Reformed Catholicke of M. W. Perkins, lately deceased, against the bastard Counter-Catholicke of D. Bishop, Seminary Priest*. Lond. 1611, 4to.

I desire to heare from him what he could doe. St[anford] is better; 30 mile att least nerer Cambridge, within 15 mile of London. This much better for me. *Hæc est summa.* We heard of your *feus-de-joyes* upon this day sevennight. *Deus* all for the best. I do not thinck but the Lord Cheife Justice shalbe Lord Tr[easurer]. My brother to him hath good . . . . . but if S[r]. R. West[on] should be, I could wish Will Lake would remember the Church. Lastly, for Austen, if it be a good edition lett me here, and send [it]. I will send money; but this I assure you, the *Index Expurgatorius* hath ben in Ambrose printed lately att Paris. May it . . . . be the fault of their copie, the Rome edition, which is not to be feared in the Lovan: where the Editores were honest men.

Your assured loving frind
R. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
Novemb: 28. [1624.]

Mr. Shawe's freinds are potent you knowe. I beleive they may fetch Caladrine about for his benefice, as being not a preist when he was instituted, according to our English Church. If he were endenised * happily Mr. Shawe will worke upon it. Ther is no harme in putting this into his head, and, if it may be, by such an opportunity to vindicate us from those ministers nott preists.

"To the w[ll]. my very especiall good freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, chapleyne in house to the right Reverend the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, be this."

XX.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 53.]

Indeed your newes was heavy! Dan. Berkhead dead! *Publica res, virtutis honos, Ecclesiæ vindex luget in interitu, mi Daniele, tuo.* He was my elder acquaintance then Austen himself, and might, *si Deo visum,* have lived *inter paucos* to have don the Church service in a croked and perverse generation. We are behind, yet shall we goe to him. He shall not come to us, and now remembreth both the Church against Papist and Puritan unto his Maker, and us his relicts unto our Redeemer. *Requiem æternam* unto that blessed soull. My afflictions, I thanck God, have *lucida intervalla,* but *subinde recurrunt.* My wife is now

* Endenizoned, *i.e.* naturalized.

downe, though, I praise God, not sorely sick. We are in a most helthfull place, yet I intend not in hast to winter here agane, *σὺν Θεῷ δ'εἰπεῖν*. The Austen, if you thinck it a good one, I pray send me. Whatsoever it cost, I must not want that of all, and I will either by my Lord of Northumberland's steward, or one of our towne, returne you the mony next weeke. I am loth to send it, our wayes are very dangerous betwixt Guilford and London.

For the Bibliotheca they do so play the knaves in printing, that I can not tell what to resolve, for in [the] Paris edition much is wanting that is in Colen, and *vice versâ*. Fayne would I have one, but till our Lady day I can not spare mony neither, and I will go no more upon score, for they will make me pay derer. If Fetherston will undertake it at Frankford to be printed, it wilbe well enough: but then what if I add the other part to, for cost is all one to them. The only defect wilbe there may be defects in the copie, which at presse may be espied by a stranger rather then the compiler; for I reading my owne things often lett faults passe, as knowing what they should be, and so reading them *minus attentè* when as they are not so written. Besides, if there should be a doubt, they can not consult the author, but things must be as they may, if not as we would. I like it well to have it don so, but then Austen and you read it over first, and lett me knowe whether he will undertake for all, and when, and what copies he will assure. If he be as good as his word, I have don with Lownes, and perchance may be worth 100^{li}. to him one day.

I am glad your clogg is gon. It is good for you, and wilbe more for his advantage farr. Cockering hath *tantùm non* marred him. To write unto my Lord wilbe nowe to late: for if he will shewe it at all, he hath don it by this, and though he had no letter will say he had, for so he hath some time don. Your directions wilbe as good as if I had written, but yet if you will have me write by the next, I will. Send me word whether I shall direct the 7^{li}. to you or Fetherston, and if to him, att what signe. It would be to much troble for you, being so far of.

Your assured,

R. M.

Decemb. 6. [1624.]

"To the w^{ll}. my most respected freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplen to the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, be this."

XXI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 61.]

Good Ihon, Salutem in Christo.

You did well to black lead your booke. I had not the patience, though I would have had the leysure, to read the blew-coate through. Casaubon the author of such bald stuff!* *Credat Judæus Apella.* Though his minde had ben that way 20 yeares since, when he was chin deepe *in lacu Lemanno*, yet his learning could not disgorge such dorbellismes. *Non vidi magis.* What this Abraham Darcie is I can not tell. I supposed him some masked Puritan. Had he his due his bookes should fire him att a stake. Before God it will never be well till we have our Inquisition. Jos. Hall to commend this! Were it *res mei juris*, he should loose all promotions he hath for it, as he that licensed it. *Bene sit* to my Lord of Durham and you for disveyling this Andabatarian Puritan, but *O si* you could persuade his Majestie to take strict order that these Allobrogicall dormise should not so much as peepe out in corners or by owlelight. This riff-raff rascalls make us lyable to the lash unto our other adversaries of the Church of Rome, who impute the frantick fitts and froth of every Puritan paroxysme to the received doctrine of our Church, as this beboone doth with whome I have had lately to do, S^r^ Goose the Gagger, if you have seene him; to whom I have shapen this answere I send you: nott *sponte*, but ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ †. About some 20 months since some of the Romish Limitors had come within my pale, and ben tampering with some wooman att Stanford Rivers ‡. Understanding therof I blanched§ them and settled the partie. But they came agayne, and she to me. Whereupon, after other resolution to her, I said that I desired to speake with them, for I was willing to lerne, and to save my soull, if I were amiss, as well as they. Wherfore, if they would not come to conferre with me, I desired resolution in thre propositions which I gave her written, promising to subscribe and go to masse, if in them they could persuade me. They went to the quick. She gave them to the parties. I heard no more of them till the 5 of October last. Then she cometh to me and bringeth me from one A. P., who or. what I know not, 2 sheets of paper, written in 2 severall hands, often without sense, without true ortographie, nothing to my propositions: only I had directions to addresse my self to one Mr. May,

* Mountague refers to the publication which came out in 1624 under the name of Casaubon. See *antè*, p. 17, *note*.

† Hom. Il. Δ. 43. ‡ See Address to the Reader in the *Gag*.

§ *i. e.* put them out of countenance.

in Partridg ally in Holborne, lately [ ]* and Minister, but nowe a Catholique, and he would eyther satisfie me or provide one that should. This missive I answered presently, as I thought fitt, and left it with her that brought me the paper, who said the partie promised to come againe within 4 days. But he is not yet come I understand. He also sent me a little whipjack in a blew jackett, caled *A Gagg for the newe Gospell*, that eyther I should be converted by it, or answere it. This choice I was putt to. It was not like to convert me. Had I not ben settled, it would have fastned me. I have seen many foolish things in that kinde, but never sawe more, therfore answere it I must, unlesse I would γέλωτά ὀφλισκάνειν, and answere it I have, though *poteram has horas non sic perdere*, and that κατὰ πόδα; bitterly and tartly I confesse, which I did purposely, because the asse deserved so to be rub'd †. This I send to you. Read it over privately, or att most with Austen, and gett it licensed, but of no Puritan. *Non eminùs patientur*, for I must print it. It is noised abroad that such a thing came to me: and he is held, which I wonder, even of schollers, ἀπεριμάχητος. I purpose, God willing, to se you next weeke, then *fusiùs ista*. In the meane time forgett not this masked Puritan, if it be possible, to have some exemplary punishment inflicted on him. You se howe, *utrinque*, we are putt to it. God looke on his Church, and preserve it. *Vale*.

Your assured

RI. MOUNTAGU.

Windsore,
Decemb: 12. [1624.]

"To the wll. my very loving frend, Mr. Ihon Cosen, att my Lord of Durham's house, this."

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* Blank in MS.

† The epithets which Mountague applied to his adversaries were, it must be admitted, more than sufficiently scornful, and it can excite no surprise that they exposed him to much animadversion. Hickman speaks very strongly on the subject:—"As for Bishop Mountague, he boasts that never any had handled the Papists as he had done; and I verily believe him. His Gag is a piece for which he may well be denominated a matchless scoffer. Fool, Goose, Cockscomb, Ass, Horse, Blind Buzard, Poor Woodcock, Catholick Cockscomb, &c., these are flowers that grow in Mr. Mountague's Garden, are they not very lovely and sweet? Will not Popery fall to the ground after one of its patrons hath been so bespattered with so many unseemly names? or, will not the Papists rather be confirmed in Popery, when they shall observe a dignified minister in the Protestant Church to use such unsavoury language without check or controul from his superiors?"—Hickman's Hist. Quinq-Articularis exarticulata: in Epist. to Reader, p. 13. Lond. 1674.

XXII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 48.]

Honest Ihon,

Your letters have been twice together unwelcome to me, μὴ γένοιτο that they be so any more. In the first, newes of Dr. Birkhead's death, in the second of Dr. Tilslye's. Ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί! Good God! yet what hath the Church don? I may say, *stantibus ut nunc*, two pillars are throwne downe, one in the north, the other in the south. I knowe not two honester, abler men, and reliable indeed of their ranke and state, trewe Israelites, ἄμεμπτοι and ἀμωμοι, which is all in all when the faction have not λαβὴν to scandalise us, but are driven to confesse we are, setting our Popery aside, unblameable. But Θεοῦ δ' ἐνὶ γούνασι κεῖται what shalbe come of us: and no matter what, so we do God and his Church service here. God will have his ends by men, though they thinck not so. God blesse and kepe you att Durham house, and especially that worthe Bishop the owner of the house, still like himself in his thorough courses for right, though alone and left alone. I never found in my experience but it was the best and gaynest * way θεοσέβειν in intent, and by direct means to drive thether. *Cætera Deo permittere.* To be too wise *in Divinis* often proveth stark folly. Remember my humble service to his Lordship, with thancks for his last and ever kindnesses. Tell him I refer the disposing of my Apologie wholy unto him and you too. Add, alter, do what you will. I did not indeed conceve that the King would have it printed, therfore I wrote more frely and particularly to let him have notice who have ben actors in it, and what they had don, over and above the Informers to Parleement: therfore I mention'd so many by name, which yet I can bring forth my authors for the avouchee. But if it be made publick, I putt it to your consideration whether those particular namings of men in some particular points (I meane Dr. Prideaux, Featly, Oxford, Lambeth, if it be these, beside mentioning of the Articles of Lambeth, which I do not mean to leave out) because *nihil ad summam caussæ*, and what exception may be taken I knowe not, though for my owne particular I care not. Those later Articles that I sent you also, be sure, came from Lambeth house, by a freind that I have there, whom I will not wrong nor disclose. But in theise things my Lord is wiser than I. I referr the whole unto you as you

* A term still very common in Yorkshire, equivalent to the "nearest" or "most convenient" way.

please, and must confesse do much desire the Answere to the Informers might come abroad without altering of ducks, dracks, parraitts, or any thing in that kinde. I am glad his Majesty sent it to that Deane to overviewe. For the established doctrine, I thinck he can finde nothing. For the stile, it is temperate enough. I thinck I name not the Parlement but twyce, and that with great respect: my answere I made direct and punctuall, not overpassing one iota. But who shall licence it? If the noise go over sea, *omnem movebunt lapidem*. I have gone over the second edition of the Gagg, in which are 6 or 7 severall chapters added, and much augmented to the former. *Addenda* I have added to my former, correcting in the printed booke *corrigenda*, which were many, *σφάλματα typographica*, and, as the desire of the Archbishop was, explaining myself, with no greate advantage, I assure you, to the side. In that of Faling*, etc., I have don no more but nowe peremptorily denied the doctrine to be ours, but the contrary, out of the Articles, Conference †, Homilyes, as in my Appeale, and so left it. The impression, I thinck, is almost gon, whether it were best to print it agayne, I referr it to you. *Si autem*, by all means I could desire the King would send it to Bishop Morton, with the same precept as this to the Deane. If you do putt this to print, it is no matter for the hast before Christmas as you write. So it be by the next terme it will do well. There is no Epistle to the King. Aske my Lord whether I were not best make one, and if, upon what heads. I could wish you would offer it Lownes, if he will do right. For it will sell doubtlesse, and do not lett it go without mony or mony worth. I meane in books, beside the copies to give away. But that to your discretion. I am most glad you have that Prebend‡, and I like your course well of not being hastie to exchange. All that nowe I advise you is, do nothing suddenly, nor without my Lord. Make him your counsellor that is the author of them to you. So he can not take it but well, and you shall further ingage him. A most honest, thorough frend he is, and such must be held *omni modo*. Referr all to him, so shall you hold and indere him. Thus I did with S^r^. H. Savile. You may tell him, if occasion be, you can not tell howe his Lordship will hereafter dispose of himself. Your desire is still to do him service, and, to that end, desire him to advise you, and to dispose you. Thus much till I speake with you. I have received the Austens by the last returne. I like them well for the

* Falling from Grace.—Cf. Pt. 1. c. iv. of the *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 21.

† The Conference at Hampton Court.

‡ Cosin was collated by Bishop Neile to the 10th Stall in Durham Cathedral, on Dec. 4, 1624.—Hutchinson's Hist. Durham, ii. 210.

surface. I have taken order with one Mr. Stringer, a tradesman of our towne, of greate creditt in London, because he is very welthie, and dealeth . . . . by the carier to write to some of his customers to lett Mr. Fetherstone have 7li., and I, upon the returne of his bill, will pay Mr. Stringer agayne, because the wayes are dangerous for mony to be caried. This note will direct you, and I thought this the best and safest way. Remember me to A. Lindsell. Tell him I long to heare what the Dr. will do, for else I will thinck upon some other convenience. I pray send this to my brother. *Vale.*

Your loving frend ever,

R. Mountagu.

Pettworth, Decemb: 20. [1624.]

I wrote unto you in my last about the *Bibliotheca Patrum,* if the letter be againe return'd to you.

If you see my brother Ihon Scul, commend me to him, tell him I did not write because I knewe not whether he were in towne or not. I receiv'd the girdle he sent. Speake to him to have a care of my tenths and half subsidy for Stamford, when they shalbe due.

One thing I had forgott, wherby you se the love of L[ambeth] house to me. A Dr. of Divinity, no Puritan, I am told by a gentleman, a neighbour of myne, that I will sweare is none, talking with this gentleman, fell in spech of me, and not knowing that he knewe me said, he heard at L[ambeth], wherto he is an appurtenance, but yet I knowe not his name, that the King had promised me the B[ishopric] of Chichester, but he hoped I should never live to enjoy it. *Rideo et taceo.*

(Not addressed.)

XXIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 45.]

Good Iohn,

My wife returns you hearty thancks for her token, but none at all, she saith, for your desire to come, no more do I. You see the unseasonable weather, att least it is so with us, and the country of Sussex not very passable att best. You knowe I have none of the strongest body for such journyes, and every winter theise 5 yeares by travell to London I have caught that which hath longer hung on me then better things would. Beside my naturall state of body, my position att present is crasie, and

before God but with hazard I dare not travell. I confesse I would not willingly yet make the third to D. Birkhead and Dr. Tilsly, but live to do God's Church service, and desire to kepe of sicknes as much as I can. Besides I see no cause of coming. For whatsoever Dr. White hath noted it were convenient I should see it first, advise upon it, either yeld to it, or answere it, which I can not do from my books. Besides, it is not probable the K[ing] will have any leisure for such smale things, and it can not be avoyded but it wilbe bruited abroad . . . . If *cætera* were *parata*, and the K[ing] had leisure, I should thinck οὐκ ἐτι καῖρος. I have written to this end unto my Lord of Durham, and, good Ihon, if he otherwise, take him of, that I may not come. I protest unfeynedly I would scarce come out of dores, *hâc scenâ rerum*, for a Bishoprick. What the Doctor hath noted I may see, if you will send them, and I will advise upon them and returne them. As I wrote in my last, so these speciallityes I desire, if the thing be printed, may be left out, for offending more then we nede. You say the Dr. hath added many quotations. Such they may be, I shall not desire them. I could have enlarged much, but I would not. Further application may be deferred till the reprinting of my Gagg, which my Lord of Canterbury long since sennd to desire if it be. Some of them certeynly shall reveiwe it, for I have added 5 chapters, added much as the Gagger hath, changed somewhat, but nothing for their advantage. Tell A. Linsell αἰσχρόν μέν δηρόν τε μένειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι from Dr. Combers. I received your note from Fetherston. I thank you for your pains. I like the books well if they be no worse then I yett finde them. Commend me to my brother Scull, if you see him. I heard he was lately at Windsore, and whether he be att London I can not tell; wherefore I write not to him. So commending you to God's good protection, I rest, desiering you by all means to kepe me of from comming till more seasonable wether.

Your most assured

Ri. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
S. Stephen's day. [1624.]

"To the wll. my worthy freind, Mr. Iohn Cosin, Chaplyn in house to the right R. F. in God, the L. Bishopp of Durham att Duresme house, this."

XXIV.—From Oliver Naylor to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 71.]

Good Sir,

I writt divers tymes to Mr. Pagett this last terme to knowe of your returne, with purpose to have written to you, but I had not any certaintie of your beeing at London before your owne letters came. I am most hartly glad of the newes they bring of the bettering of your fortune so much *, which I doubt not but will continue by your indevours under so worthy a Lord, who is so constant in his favour to those which shall deserve it. No frend you have shall be more joyfull then my selfe at it. The giving over of your place at Cambridge was wonderfull well, and as it became you, that they may have some examples of free elections amongst the contrary. And for the partie I thinke my selfe someway indebted to you for him for the good will I bare him, who will shame neither of our judgments, if he continue as he was. Though I wonder the D^r. could not see the creditt of the College before you open'd his eyes, or perchaunce he would have you have the creditt of so good a woorke now in the great reconcilement. Howsoever 'tis woorth a hundred . . . . . to leave a good successor amongst them. And for his frendship it is now a great deale more to be esteemed when you shall not have the former occasions to yeeld to any inconveniences for it. It may be I shall see them this Commencement, though I still demurre uppon it.

'Tis true that I have some motions of mariage heere in hand, though nothing yett be concluded †: which the condition of the world hath inclin'd me to against my former resolutions; but such are these necessities and conveniencies which no man can imagine but by experience. You shall heare of the successe whatsoever it be.

* By his collation to a prebendal Stall in Durham Cathedral. See *antè*, p. 35, *note*.

† These "motions of marriage" were doubtless ere long brought to a happy conclusion. Another Oliver Naylor, who was clearly the son of Cosin's correspondent, was in due time entered at Caius College. "1646. Oliverus Naylor, filius Oliveri, verbi ministri, natus apud Marwood in eodem comitatu (i. e. Northamptonshire) literis institutus apud Abbeington, in eodem comitatu, sub Mag^ro. Becket per biennium; apud Stratton, in comitatu Cornubiensi, sub Mag^ro. Holman per biennium; apud Barstable, sub Mag^ro. Sam. Clark per annum; annos natus 18, admissus est in Collegium nostrum pensionarius minor, 2^do. die Maii 1646: fide jussore Mag^ro. Moore. Solvit &c." The Editor is indebted for this extract from the Matriculation Book to the kindness of Dr. Guest, Master of Gonville and Caius College. Oliver Naylor the son afterwards became Fellow of Caius.

Mr. Wake is heere at Sherburne, and writes as if all were well, but he plays now the cheefest part that ever he did, and I beleeve his Lord sent for him to have some knowledge of him. I pray God keepe him in good order.

I cannot requite you with any newes from hence, but only thanke you for that which you send, which I shalbe verie much beholding to you for, especially for that which concernes our Church. I have long differ'd my buisnes concerning Offerd Darcy. If you remember the cause, I pray you send me your advice in it. So with all good wishes unto you, I rest

Yours ever,

OLIVER NAYLOR.

Tawst:[ocke.]
31 Dec. [1624.]

"To my much respected frend, Mr. John Coosin, att Duresme howse, in the Strand."

XXV.—FROM RICHARD MOUNTAGU TO ARCHDEACON COSIN. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 54.]

GOOD IHON,

I MOST heartily thanck my Lord and you both for excusing me, as the wether fell out after I had writt my letter. It was absolutely the worst that I have seen in Sussex. I could wish I had a sight of the D^r.'s observations, though I do not ernestly long therfore, because though I knowe him a man of better judgment then the most, yet he is not thorough, as I also guess'd by that of Justification: what it is in particular I can not say, for I have no copy of that I sent you. But if I forgett not, my justification of the Councell of Trent in that point of Justif[ication] was necessary, unlesse I should *prodere causam meam:* for having don it in my Gagg, as being to do it or to charge them falsely, and it being objected to by those Informers out of the humor of the sect, which will have nothing approved that the Church of Rome saith, no, not that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, I thinck, I could not but plead my owne cause and that Counsell's in my Answere. If I have delivered any thing contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, or that is not with the current of these times, that *incumbat in spongiam.* This, if you shall se that it may be don, dispose it as you will, so a contrary tenet be not imposed on me. The like I say for that of images. I knowe you are there of an other minde. I can not change my minde,

yet *transeat*, so be it I be not putt to justifie the contrarie: *et sic in alteris*. But what can the Jesuite or Puritan gayne, if the Jewes were forbidden the civill use and making, *nullus video*. It is, *Non facies tibi: hoc est, tuo animo, tuis usibus, de tuâ voluntate*. Afterward followeth, διαιρετικῶς *non adorabis*. Two distinct injunctions are not the same, are absurd tautologies, in so breife a *compendium faciendorum*, as *sepultus et descendit ad inferos* are *in credendis*. Beside, shewe any one example in Scripture of having private images amongst the Jewes. After the Captivity, when the whole stoke of them were exact observers of the letter of the lawe, a perpetuall detestation of the making of them in private or publicke. They would not admitt, no not upon hazard of their lives, the statues of the Emperors, no not so much as *clipeos inscriptos titulis*, as Josephus relateth: *Κωλύει ὁ νόμος εἰκόνων τὰς ἀναστάσεις ποιεῖν, ἢ καὶ ζώων τινῶν ἀναθέσεις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τοῖς βιοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν βουλομένοις**, and agayne, *εἰκόνων ποίησιν ἀπαγορεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ νόμου* †. So Josephus, and the like Philo. Beside, the Turks, an ἀποῤῥὼξ of the Jewes in that, as well as in circumcision, have no images at all, as in the Turkish carpetts may be seen. I can not thincke otherwise of that commandment but that the part thereof was politicall, for making, forbidding the Jewes to make at all, as the other morall, them and us to worship, etc. but yet dispose it as you will, that is, leave it out, but putt not in the contrary. I must first send to Windsore before I can send A. Lindsell my Eusebius, but so sone as I can I will. I am about to finish up my first part of Exercit [ationes] upon the first Tome of Baronius. I shall have much to do in the Acts of the Apostles. I pray send me a Lerins ‡ and I will send mony. So with my best love to your selfe, and service remembred to my Lord, I rest, and committ you to God. Deale gently, I pray, with Dr. Featly and his Puritans. It will never be well till the King ridd him out of that house § in which his fellowe ‖ is *paulò tectior, nihilò autem melior*. *Iterùm vale*.

The Deanery of Yorke is a good thing ¶. Some Puritan or other

* The passage is quoted from memory. It runs as follows: *Κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος εἰκόνων τε ἀναστάσεις ἐπινοεῖν· καὶ τινων ζώων ἀναθέσεις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τοῖς βιοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν προηρημένοις.*—Antiq. Jud. l. xvii. c. 6.

† Antiq. Jud. l. xviii. c. 4.

‡ He means a copy of Vincentius Lerinensis, an old writer held in much esteem by men of Cosin's and Mountagu's school.

§ Lambeth. He was one of Archbishop Abbot's chaplains.

‖ His fellow-chaplain, Dr. Goad.

¶ Dean Meriton died Dec. 23, 1624, and his successor, John Scot, D.D., was appointed Feb. 3, 1624-5.

will stepp in without question; or, which is as bad, some D. [? *Defaulter* *.]

Your most assured
Ri. Mountague.

Pettworth, Jan. 3, [1624-5.]

"To the wᵗʰ. my most respected and worthy freind Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the Reverend L. Bp. of Durham, att Durham house."

XXVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 49.]

Ihon,

I thancke you for your information. I suspected the partie before this discovry, for last Parlament such menaces went abroad from him, and yet, I thancke God, I slept in an whole skinne, and σύν Θεῷ shall. But I knowe, could he do any thing, *luerem in corpore* as he doth *in famâ*, for *manet altâ mente repostum*. The man is admirable unto himself, extremely in love with his owne shadowe, and as such folke commonly are . . . . . of . . . . . it semeth in his words and actions, as appeareth in your relation of the interveiwe betwixt you, which *surdo dixisti, et sub sigillo*, I promise you: and further, if ever that which I have by me come to light, I will rather cleane him then rubb him, for some by tickling kill, as well as strangling, but ἄλις δρύων.

Nowe to requite you, shut your dores, and laugh too. Since you went, it is reported att Windsore that you were a Jesuite sent hether to bring me a booke, of I knowe not what, to be answered; because, contrary to our fashion, you caried your self so devoutly at prayers, which fewe of us doe. Only they say myself do, with great reverence, att ministring the Communion and reading Prayers, ever bowe both [at] Jesus, and att the Altar: and such discourse of you and [me] passeth in the vulgar. A gossip told me this that is ὠτακουστής . . . . newes. But you see were our Clergie as they should be, howe tract . . le .

* It is possible that if Mountagu had any reason to suppose that Scot would succeed to the Deanery of York, *Defaulter* may be the word meant, for he was evidently a most disreputable person, who owed more than he could pay. Bishop Williams wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, protesting in the strongest terms against Scot's appointment, on the ground of his debts, his habits of gambling, and his immoral life.—See Cabala, p. 304 (ed. 1663). Cf. also Hacket's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, Part i. p. 207.—The Duke's interest prevailed, nevertheless, for this unworthy person, who eventually died in the King's Bench, in 1644.

our people are into good order. Go laugh at this with my Lord of St. David's a little, *cui salutem meo nomine.*

Remember my service to my Lord of Duresme. Tell him I would be loth to come up, because I determine next weke for Pettworth, except he must nedes speike with me. If so, upon your word this returne I will come. For the Convocation, I must referre it to you, as also for the execution; for in Sussex I am a stranger as yett, and in Essex the major part about us are Puritanes. It must be . . . . . att London house if I be, by direction from his Lordship, for att Chichester we have no great interest, though I feare nothing in the Convocation, except they obtrude the synod of Dort. It were good his Majestie would commend a speaker to my Lord of Canterbury, but *quem tandem?* Can you tell, except Dr. Corbett, amongst the Deanes, who hath ingrossed that? But *quo* . . . . . the visible Church, I do not greatly care to looke upon. I have beheld such enough heretofore. It . . . . well out of a corner, to much cheeke by joll with the many . . . . . of as good an adition. But κείσθω. I laugh att their follyes, and so do you. *Vale,* and God send all, as I doubt not but he will, well.

Your assured
Ri. Mountague.

Jan. 8. [1624-5.]

I pray assone as the *Bibliotheca* cometh over, take a veiwe, *qualis, qualiter, quorsum,* the Gagger is dispatch'd. Lett him ly close till the King hath the assay. But howe have you christned it? You never said any thing of the name. That I committed to you.

"To the w^ll. my very loving freind Mr. Ihon Cosin, Chaplyn to my Lord Bp. of Durham, att Durham house, this."

XXVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 58.]

It was ill don of the Deane to communicate the papers, especially to one of the faction, as that D^r. is *. By that meanes the Brethren, I make no doubt, will have intelligence, and so *Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ, etc. quem non movebunt fumum!* In that of Justification *cum appendiciis* is the mayne betwixt them and us. I knowe the Deane is *animitùs* of our minde, but δείδιαται τρῶας καὶ τρῳάδας ἑλκεσίπεπλους. I have

* Probably Dr. Featley.

a passage, I thincke, in the point, out of him, to purpose, and for that the justification of a sinner consisteth in forgiveness of sins, and not imputed iniquity, primarily, and in grace infused into the heart, secondarily, whereby man is inabled to abandon his wicked courses by mortifying of his inward man, I se no reason but it may well passe. For, ever, where sin is not imputed, but iniquity pardoned, holy life and conversation will appeare and shewe itself*, which to my understanding David taught, Psal. li. 10. *Hide thy face from my sinne, and blott out all myne iniquityes,* which being don, then ensuieth, *Create in me a cleane heart, O God, and renue a right spiritt within me.* And so are they coupled 1 Cor. vi. 11. And so, according to antiquity, sinns are not only pardoned but the guift of sanctity is conferred. Nor only so, but according unto them whom theise men do followe in the point of justification, who seeme most averse unto sanctification or renovation, *Qui Justificationem interpretantur simpliciter acceptationem quâ nos Dominus in gratiam acceptos pro justis habet, eamque in peccatorum remissione ac justitiæ Christi imputatione solâ positam esse dicunt.* For theise men, Calvin and Beza I meane, do acknowledge and confesse that Justification and Sanctification are perpetually conjoyned, and do mutually cohere, nor can they be separated the one from the other. Justification comprehendeth whatsoever we obtayne by Christ, imputation of his righteousness and sanctification, saith Beza, in Tit. iii. 7 †. This, I take it, is the doctrine of the Church of England, to which the Doctor, if he understand himself, hath subscribed. I am sure it is Mr. Deane's. *Tenete quod substantia est, alterate quod accidens est.* You are of my minde, all. Do it for me in disposing the chapters as you would do it for yourselves. Change what you will, so you hold the mayne. Touching Images, that opinion of myne in the 2 chapter ‡, it is myne still, though you have said as much as can be. But for that, οὐδεὶς λόγος· τερέτισματα γὰρ. I stand not upon it. Change it as you will. Touching the publishing of it, sone or late, all is one to me. Your owne leisure and occasions take them. *Sat citò si sat benè,* and, *si sat benè,* no matter *quam tardè.*

Remember my service to my Lord, and tell him what I write I referre all to you: yet I would gladly see the Dr.'s observa-

* Cf. *Appello Cæsarem,* pt. 2. c. ix. pp. 192, 193.

† "*Ut justificati,* &c. *Ἵνα δικαιωθέντες. Justificationis* nomen largè accipio, ità ut complectatur quicquid à Christo consequimur, tum per imputationem, tum per Spiritus in nobis sanctificandis efficaciam, ut simus ἄρτιοι, id est, *perfecti* et *integri,* in Eo. Sic quoque accipitur *Justificandi* verbum. Rom. cap. 8. vers. 30."—Beza in Tit. iii. 7.

‡ He probably means the second *Part* of the *Appello Cæsarem,* "touching points of Popery in generall."

tions, before or after, I care not. For I will alter nothing contrary to your opinions, trust me in that. I have revised over my booke agayne, tell my Lord, as I onc told the Archbishop I would, when the K[ing] sent me to him. I thinck the impression is out. If you will have it reprinted, or desire to see it you shall. It is little for their advantage, and yet I thinck taketh away most of their objections. For I have explaned, added, inforced the points in that *cordolium* touching faling away from grace. I have roundly, flattly, and breifly acknowledged it the Church doctrine, and so left it, only reporting the words of the Articles and Homilyes, leaving out the Testimonies and Articles. If his Grace call for it he shall have it, little to his comfort. If not, κείσθω. For Lorinus you may stay. If my Lord of Northumberland have him, I care not for him. I will enquire, and if not, then desire him. Dr. Crakanthorp's booke * I thought had ben out long since. I am greatly, it semeth by you, in his booke. I merveile the overseers lett it passe. I do not merveile att him for writing so, because the man was a good, ingenuous scholer, though mislead. But whie do you call it a posthume booke? Is the author dead? I knowe not so much. I am sory for it, because a good Archbishop might have made good use of him, and such one one day we may have. You have sent me newes indeed, good, but strange. I am glad that the Lord Brooke hath at length began to remember Cambridge †. I hope it wilbe better imployed then the donations are att Oxford. This advantage we have, to amend there errors and enormityes by presedent. Strange, for it can scarce be credible that such prodigious stuffe as you write of should be licensed to presse ‡. Pardon him! Mary, God forbid! but first remove him from his Lord and Master that he do no such further hurt, for the ape wilbe an ape still. As I said, his fellowe § is *paulò tectior, nihilo melior.*

* His *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contrà M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatensis Injurias,* which was published in 1625, after the author's death, by Dr. John Bareham, Dean of Bocking. Dr. Crakanthorpe was a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Rector of Blacknotley, near Braintree in Essex, where he died in 1624. He was a man of great and varied learning, a noted preacher, and one of the leaders of the puritanical party in Oxford.—See Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 361.

† Fulk Greville, first Lord Brooke, who was assassinated Sept. 30th, 1628, was a benefactor to the University of Cambridge.—See Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. p. 429.

‡ Featley was probably preparing his work against Mountagu, which he entitled, *Pelagius Redivivus. Or, Pelagius raked out of the Ashes by Arminius and his Scholars.* The book contains two parallels, one between the Pelagians and Arminians; the other between the Church of Rome and Mountagu. It was published in 1626.

§ Dr. Goad, who, as well as Featley, was Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot.

If you see my brother Scull, tell him I merveile I heare not of him. Desire him to have a care of my tenths and half subsidy att Stanford. Dr. Lindsell shall have Eusebius, I hope, next, or att second, returne. *Vale.*

Doth the Parleament hold or not?

Your most affectionate
R. MOUNTAGU.

Jan. x^th^. [1624-5.]
Pettworth.

"To the w^rll^. my very loving frend, Mr. Ihon Cosin, Chaplyn in house to the Reverend L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, this."

XXVIII.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 12.]

GOOD IHON,

Tandem parturierunt montes. I see your newe friend, my old adversary, is and wilbe still περιαυτολόγος, and lett him be, we can nott help that we can not mend. I will not owe much to his undertakinge, for I feare not those shaw-foules of convention etc. But enough. I received a sheet of the printer, *cætera probo*, but in 4 page, *monstrum horrendum*, a *niggling* trick for a *juggling* tricke *. This must *in spongiam incumbere*, and be mended with a pen or we are shamed for ever. For to *juggle* you knowe what it is, but to *niggle*, except you can cant, you knowe not. In that honest language it is, *rem habere cum muliere.* Out upon such jugling printers! but *curabis.* I pray by the next returne of our boate to morowe, lett me have what is printed, *et sic deinceps* to collect the *errata.* About Thursday I purpose σὺν Θεῷ for Pettworth, to returne about Tuesday, and then not to be long from you. I suppose if they kepe truth the *Bibliotheca* is come: *quod si*, you can send me word *quæ, qualis, quanti.* The title of the booke in my page is, *An Answer to the Gagger of Protestants.* It is not amisse, but that which you sent me would be in the frontispiece, and first place; for so my Gagger varieth his inscription.

If you will nedes make me a Convocation man I must use St. Paul's words to you and Linsell, *Provide me a lodging* amongst you. Therfore looke to it what you do, though I doubt no innovations any way, nor obtrusion of the Synod of Dort, nor yet any lineall deduction from, and extraction out of, Wiclef, Huss, Albigenses, Pauperes de Lugduno, of a visible Church, though

* On reference to the *Gag* it will be seen that this erratum did not receive correction.

never so reverently preached or authoritatively printed as theie portend. Theise are happely puttinge forth of somewhat some men would have: but ὦ βάθος: in point of state, passages even ordinary are not foordable. What I am doing I will tell you when I see you, but if you longe for it before, I am reviewing and consummating my . . . . *Diatribæ* *, to ly by me att least, and be for use at occasion. So *vale et scribe*, but forgett not the good houshold with you.

Your assured *ad posse*
RI. MONTAGU.

Jan. 11. [1624-5.]

"To the wrll. my very loving frend Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chapleyn to my Lord BP. of Durham, att Durham house, be this."

XXIX.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 14.]

IF the offence be so sone and easily pardoned, which at first was so implacable, goodnes and greatnes have mett together. It is more, I dare say, of mercy than desert, but *mihi Evangelia*. For thereby it semeth my worke is at an ende, the Dr's. quarrell and mine is determined, and *euge*, for *poteram has horas non sic perdere*. It is well if yet *in posterum cavebitur*, as his Lord saith, if he kept truth, nor he, nor any one else shall license books. But better if that serious consultation you speake of do procede, *quod vereor:* it will sone coole, and the masks and matches you mention are good dilatory interlopers. Your Lord must remember it, and putt it forward: and yet it semeth even he *hebescit interdum, aut ad metas hæret*. I merveile not, I can not blame, for *solus stat in acie*, and he must take *mollissima tempora*. It is well the Dr. goeth into Suffolke. Fayre weather after him and snowe at his heeles, as Will . . . . I doubt not will succede, for like must to like, but happily not so able to do mischiefe *versipellis erat*, κλεψίνοος *siquis erat*, of good strong braynes but *sublestæ fidei*. I am every thing, it semeth, a Papist, Puritan, *quid non*. Dom. Price told me once I was no Puritan in my writings but in my actions. For I quitted the Denry of Hereford, *scilicet* as holding it unlawfull to be a Deane, or else howe in that a Puritan. So in this of Featly they would persuade me to turne. *Non persuadebunt licet persuaserint*. I

* His *Antidiatribæ ad priorem partem Diatribarum I. Cæs. Bulengeri, adv. Exercitat. Is. Casauboni:* pub. in 1625.

have not yet read through the Dr's. notes and animadversions. I se nothing but, *laudarem eruditionem, consensum,* of which I am glad for my owne, but rather for the Churche's cause. Doubtlesse he is thoroughly ours, but as I write δείδιαται τρῶας καὶ τρωάδας, which I foole-hardy do not. I had, you knowe, written to you *cavendi gratiâ,* for diverse passages in those papers not to be printed, but only for to have notice taken of them. The most he hath cancelled is that part. In that of Jewell he hath much enlarged, which I did not doe purposely, as loving not to meddle in questions of mere and depe speculation in a vulgar passage so much as in those of popular practice; as not bound unto it by any inference from them, and as in the country disfurnished of such books as in that case must be used, beside intending a reiteration of the Gagg upon the second edition of the adversaries, much enlarged, more altered, which nowe shall ly by, be putt off and respitted, if not for all. But seeing it is thought fitt so much to enlarge, *eatur,* and I will do it in some other before I returne the papers; only I must have leave of the Deane to put to his name, *ut sciant omnes per quem profecerim.* I would be loth *furtivis rufari coloribus,* to which end I have written to him, as otherwise to thancke him, which I pray deliver, and commend my love to him. I have sent . . . . my *Euseb. de Preparat.* compared. I have a MS. also of the other part *de Demonstrat:* but it is not compared. *Fiet* att some more leisure, and if Ihon Gerard Vossius when he cometh will or can procure Eusebius printed beyond sea (for here *spes est conclamata*) I will perfect the copie and send it over, together with a booke never yet printed in Greek nor Latin, *adversus Marcellum Ancyranum,* with my translation and notes almost don. I have also sent him his other books *de hæreticis morte non puniendis.*

Last of all to your own businesse. I professe my self of Austen's* minde, I would not have you preach that sermon. For *cui bono fini?* You can not hold against the faction: strong, fierce, potent, especially there. *Quoties dicimus, toties de nobis judicatur,* and if you alter that (in my opinion foolish) course of repeating I know not *quott* sermons, a Noveller you are, traduced you shalbe, perhapps displease. But so, or so runne your self upon hazard. Here λάθε βιῶσαι. I never come att the Crosse. I never will. I should do no good but my body harme, my reputtation hazard, my cause hurt. For the City, you knowe, *furioso more calvinisat.* If my Lord of S. D[avid's] presse you, *I præ sequar.* If he and such preach the sermons, repeate you. But οὐκ ἔσται τοῦτο: nor that. I tell you what I would do my self.

* Dr. Lindsell.

I pray tell George Limitar I thought my first fruits had been paid. I know not whether they be or no, for the second payment. If not, next weeke I will take order for them. Being farr of I must trust, and that often faileth.

I am sorry I was not at Windsore to bid you welcome, but you should have sent me word soner. Happily [*haply*] your friend may do good to his father in lawe, who is a good honest Puritan.

Doth the Parleement hold or not. I am sure our foule, wett, windy weather doth with us, and the iv of Feb. will not dry our wayes. My prayer howsoever shalbe first for the Church, then for all such as love it. Commend me to Austen. Sometime, att least, he might lett fall a line on paper.

My wife remembereth her self, and so doth Mall, to you.

Your most assured

Ri. Montagu.

Pettworth,
Jan: 17. [1624-5.]

"To the w[ll]. my very assured kinde friend, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the right Reverend Father, the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, This."

XXX.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 25.]

Honest Mr. Cosen,

You are welcome home from Windsore, where I would I had ben to have intertayn'd you. No merveile if no body answered you at my house, for Lady Vacuna was within, and had locked the dores to her. Yet, if ever you have occasion thether agayne, my keys are hard by at Mr. Wadson's, who will give you intertaynement although I be not there. It is a trim place. *Fateor*, but Pettworth is better, for fire, water, wood, ayre, and *denique* profett. Only Windsore, which you observed, hath one thing paramount, the convenience of serving God in that sorte; and therfore I am resolved, *quicquid de me Deus et Dominus Rex*, to kepe that *senio receptaculum*, when I can do God and the Church no other service but bidd my beads. By that time we shall have waxe lights I hope, unlesse even theise we have be taken from us. For better or worse the world will be, I knowe, when we have not so much as them. I would to God you could and would procure a reversion there, that we may lay our bones together therein in my grave, as the prophett of Samaria did in his of Judah, that if P[uritanism] over sway they may digg us both up,

if Popery, they may . . . . for my sake; though it semeth you come fayrely with the G . . . . thren, if they bestowe that good language on you . . . . But though they curse, God will blesse. I am told, and I believe it, they hate me *odio plusquam Vatiniano:* but as once I told you so, *vivam modò, plura dolebunt.* In ernest, I have nowe throughly perused the D[ean's] notes*. I am much beholding to him, and I hope both I and the Church shalbe more, when he gathereth heart at grasse, for he is somewhat timorous, as I perceive by his crossing out and putting in somewhat, wherein yett for the most parte I am contented to followe his advisednes, and not *irritare crabrones* needlessly, especially *appropinquante ipsorum regno.* Next returne I hope to dispatch it to you agayne. Then print it as you will, and as sone as you will: but who shall license it? Lett my Lord of Durham do as semeth good. For those against Bulenger it is but one parte, the other I can not so sone dispatch. Therefore if you have your choyce of Lownes or Fetherstone, use which you will; and kepe which you will for the other if you can.

I have sent unto you 9 peices of 22^{s}. desiring you to se the second payment of my first fruits for Pettworth paid to George Limitor, and take in the bond. I send it because I wrote to my brother Scull last weke ernestly about it, and I heard not from him, though I told him I did expect to heare, and I have forgott it to longe allredy. I thought he would not have ben so negligent. I adventured to send it by the carier rather than faile upon exigencies, and to you, for as S. Pall said of Titus, or Timothy, which was it? *I have none like minded* as yourself, nor shall you ever find a faster frind.

I am glad they have putt of that sermon. My Lord of S. David's reasons I knowe not. I can not guesse what they should be. But no matter: it is, you say, resolved. Reste. We are, God be thancked, in helth, and my wife and Moll commend them to you. *Vale.*

Tuissimus,
MONTACUTUS.

Pettworth,
Jan. 24. [1624-5.]

[In Dr. Cosin's hand, *ad calcem.*]

Deliver theise 9 pieces to this bearer, my servant.—JOHN COSIN.

"To the w^{ll}. my most approved freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn to my L. of Durham, att Durham house, this."

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* White, Dean of Carlisle.

XXXI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 59.]

Longa est injuria, longæ ambages. What adoe is here with Dr. Featly and his camerades! It is well I knowe then who was the author of those objections, *per confitentem reum,* which I did but guesse att before; for I had them out of that house, and it was with advise of caution, for they were to be informed att next Session. But God and good King Jeames make them somewhat chop falne. For the subscriptions, *risi: et tune ille Æneas?* Is this Dr. Featly? that told me once, if I did not correct my booke voluntarily, I should be forced. It is true in part which he saith, of my asking him about the Informations, not speches of people; for when I was with my Lord's Grace, as you knowe who bad me goe, I desired his Grace to do me that favour as to help me to a copie of the Information, for as then I had not sene them. He told me he had none, but spake to Dr. Featly standing by, if he had any, who disavowed it, but said he thought Dr. Goade had, who was then at Winchester. Hereupon indeed I desired Dr. Featly to help me, if he could, to a sight of them, which he promised, if he could, but never did: and since, you knowe, I gott them. Upon this ground he hath colorably excused himself for collecting theise objections, which he saith never any sawe but my Lord of Winchester. False: for then howe came I by them? not from my Lord, nor Mr. Porter, nor any that looked that way, but nerer to Lambeth. So lett him knowe when you see him, and as for his curate, he is a knave. I never saide he should say my booke was Popery and Foppery, but Scurrility and Popery, and that this he saide I told his Mr. long since, and withall the partie that will justifie it upon his oth, a Minister, sometime of Corpus Christi in Oxford, Featlye's senior, to whom that curate spoke it, and the first letter of his name is Mr. Jhon Bradford, beneficed in Barkshire, not farr from Newbory. But so, or not so, *satis est.* I have their recantation under hand. As for any aspersion upon his Grace, tell Dr. Goade and Featly, I take it for an invention of their owne. I thincke no frend of myne ever said or thought that his Grace should sett them on worke to make newe objections. I thincke his Grace loveth me not so ill, nor can spare so much time, as to thincke of such inferior employments for them; and, lastly, they are both apt enough to do it of themselves, as apt as with Dr. Hall, of W. [orcester], and Dr. Prideux, att first to informe, or attend Informations against me att Parleament, whereto they would have drawen in Dr. White, who quashed the businesse. I

pray lett Dr. Good knowe that I hold he is *paullò tectior,* but *nihilò melior* then his fellowe chaplyn against me, you, or any anti-puritan. You told them right for Oxford. For Dr. Prideux his Thrasonismes and threats as honest men as himself will justifie it. But it is well things are as they are. For my part, *jacta alea est,* lett them informe till their hearts and heads ake. I am a professed enimy of that Allobrogicall city of God and holy cause. For Dr. White, *fruatur genio et ingenio suo.* Next time I write to him he shall answere it. Yet it is well that we have his animadversions, which I returne you with my Appeale. But kepe it safe as a jewell, and lett the King have a transcript. This is all of his owne hand. In my reveiwe I have putt in allmost all that he would have me, and added much of my owne, and much of Mr. Perkins' testimonyes *, to stopp their mouths with their owne men. I wrote much of it agayne, because of those passages private to be left out. I have not named Dr. White, but once only said that theise testimonyes were suggested unto me by a lerned freind. Use and dispose it as you will, and, if you will, lett Dr. White see it agayne, though he nede not. That against Featlye's collections, is putt severall in the end per postscript. You may leave it out wholy, if you will, because he hath confessed them and disclamed them, and the most of them be answered in that to the Informers. I do not mislike that they should thinck I would have lashed them had not Dr. White persuaded me. Lett them thincke so. It is not amisse to kepe them in awe. If Dr. White do see this again, indent with him not to discover it to any whole or half Puritans any more. And for the printing of it, do it as sone as you will or can; since it is knowen their is such a thing coming. But the King must be first acquainted, I suppose, and see Dr. W[hite's] abridgement. Beside, who shall licence it? Dr. Goad? or Dr. Featly? or the College of Enquisitors you told me of not long since, that must be for surveiwing books? but when? *ad Græcas calendas.*

I shall shortly send you as much more of my Latine notes in Casaubon's and Bulenger's case, if the stationers go not to sone. I had rather Lownes should undertake it, if he will, but I leave it to your selfe. I do not determine to come, if I can choose, until my booke be printed, which wholy I referr to you. If it be att least dispatched by the parleament, which happily [*haply*] may not hold then neither. You tell us strange newes of puppetts, etc., but my Lord of Northumberland † had it also. Yett more

* Cf. *Appello Cæsarem,* pp. 172, 173, 179.

† Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. In the year 1606 he was convicted of misprision of treason, for admitting his kinsman Thomas Percy (who was after-

juglers and devills. Lett them gange* together in the devill's name. I thought there was some private end in your preeching at the Crosse. It is well putt of. You would have exasperated the godly ones more, that, by God's grace, nor dare, nor can, do you hurte, nor me nether, which I thincke, and so I am given to understand, am the most hated man alive with them. I hope we shall yet se the confusion of their Allobrogicall discipline. I am like to anger them also in my next.

You say well Windsore in winter is fitter for me, and God willing I meane not to winter here any more yet. But for London I care not much to come there, *nisi ut vos salutem.* Howe soever and where soever, ... God grant we go still.

My wife hath sent you a smale token with her commendations. She would have sent you a better, but Mall is idle, and will not worke fast enough. Remember my first-fruits, to take out the bond and cancell it. *Vale.*

Your most assured,
Ri. Mountagu.

Pettworth, Jan. 31, [1624-5.]

"To the wl. my most respected kinde freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the R. F. the Lord Bp. of Durham, at Durham house."

XXXII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 57].

Good Jhon,

My best love remembered. The letter you sent inclosed came from Paris by Fetherston. It is about Eusebius, whose works they are now printing there in Greek and Latin, and desire my notes out of manuscripts and the 5 books against Marcellus, which I have translated out of Greeke into Latin. I must therfore have my Eusebius sent back agayne, to fitt it for them, though I have written first to tender unto them some conditions. Fetherston I am by them directed unto, to deale [with]. It is

wards concerned in the Gunpowder Plot) to be a Gentleman Pensioner, knowing him to be a recusant, and not administering to him the oath of supremacy, as also for writing letters abroad after the discovery of that treason, &c. For these offences he was fined 30,000*l.*, removed from the Privy Council, deprived of all the offices he held, and sent to the Tower, where he remained in confinement for fifteen years. He married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. He died at Petworth, Nov. 5, 1632, and was succeeded by his son Algernon.—Dugdale's Baronage, i. p. 284.

* For Mountagu's use of this word, see *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 252. It is not improbable that he had caught the expression from the lips of his royal Master, James I.

Morell the printer that sendeth by means of one Lucas Holstenius*, with whom I was acquainted here, an Hamburger, a good scholer, who telleth me he is setting forth another tome to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, of Fathers not yet extant, and would fayne have some from us, if we have any. What Austen hath I can not tell. The man is, I thincke, an honest man. Howesoever, he may take the fortune I do, in helping *rempublicam literariam*. Send me, I pray therefore, Eusebius back, and Cassander's works, if they may be had. I here say Dr. Prideux' 9 eggs are rotten†, that is, must be called in. My Lord of Northumberland's chappleyn coming yesterday from London told me so. And to quitt him I said that Elton's books must be burnt. *Molem invidiæ*, howe shall we beare. As sone as you can, gett directions from Court what to doe. And concerning that of the Crosse, *quid si* I did affirme openly what I meane? what have they to do? is it against comon [? *prayer*,] etc? They will say it is Popery. So they do allredy. Can they convent me for it? Or if, *quo jure* punish me? But let it go as it is, only with that addition you speake of out of the Letany, *Per Crucem et Passionem libera, etc.* It is much to purpose‡.

* Lucas Holstenius was born at Hamburg in 1596. He had a remarkable taste for the study of geography, a branch of learning which he pursued with much diligence and success. In 1622 he came to England for the purpose of gathering materials, in the public and private libraries of this country, for the execution of the great work he contemplated on that subject. He afterwards went to Paris, where he became librarian to the President De Mesmes. About this time he became a convert to the Church of Rome, his reasons for which are assigned in a letter which he wrote to the celebrated Peiresc. Through the recommendation of this eminent scholar he became in 1627 an inmate of the palace of the Cardinal Barberini at Rome. Here he had access to the Vatican Library, and devoted himself to his favourite study of geography. Besides this pursuit, however, he amassed a vast amount of material on other subjects. He contributed valuable assistance to an edition of St. Athanasius, which was published at Paris in 1627, and also to the edition of Eusebius which was published by Vigier in 1628, in which Mountagu also had a share. In 1630 he brought out one of his most important works, an edition of the *Vita Pythagoræ* and *De Antro Nympharum* by Porphyry, with a dissertation on the life and writings of Porphyry which has been called a masterpiece of exact criticism. Ruhnken speaks of him as a man of great and profound erudition. A volume of his letters, addressed to Peiresc, Heinsius, and other eminent scholars of the time, was published at Paris in 1817. Of these letters forty-eight had never previously been printed. They throw much light upon his life and labours, and upon the literary history of the period.

† Mountagu may possibly allude to a work which was afterwards published by Prideaux, under the following title:—*Orationes novem inaugurales, de totidem Theologiæ Apicibus, prout in Promotione Doctorum, Oxoniæ publicè proponebantur in Comitiis.* Oxon. 1626. 4to. The word *novem* seems rather to identify it with the "9 eggs."

‡ "The reverend, pious, and religious use of signing, *ad omnem motum, gestum, habitum*, with the signe of the Crosse, is no Popery . . . . . But I adde in the conclusion, I could tell some experimented effects thereof . . . . . And what if I meant some experimental effects of my owne knowledge? What then? Can you controll or convince me? I am not bound to confesse myself to you: but what if

You delt bravely with that nodder with his grave head you wrote of. I shall tell him a peice of my minde when we meet. For F. and his curate, knave and foole, lett them go. If you thincke fitt, leave out the postscript. I am indifferent if you do it or not. It is no matter whether the Dr. see my Answere any more. I have much added out of Mr. Perkins*, as you see, their great Rabbi, what will he say to that. Touching the Epistle, to whom? *Cui* but *Domino Regi*, if att all. I say if att all, for is not the Title an Epistle? Shall I make an other? Beside, in the conclusion I fly to him agayne. But I will follow my Lord's and your advise in this: *cui responsum meum hoc intimes.* I send you the rest of my Latin observations. Here is all I will yett putt forth. Lownes I thincke is true, though hard. The other you say is a *Fether*, let him fly alone. You have the title of that, have you not? My wife saith such exquisite thancks nede not. She hath asked me twyce or thrice if you can not in fayre whether [*weather*] *excurrere* hether. It may be I shall see you before Shrove-tide. *Vale.*

Tuus, R. M.

Feb. 7, [1624-5.]

(Address torn off.)

XXXIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 6.]

Good Ihon, I received your note unto my brother before your letter to my self. I would I had stayed longer (though I could not have ben spared from my necessary businesse of packing up my bookes for Petworth against Munday, when I send my stuff away), for so I had escaped a sore cold, which I have gotten by riding in a very sharpe winde in my face, and an extreame wett

upon diverse extremities I have found ease and remedy by using that ejaculatory prayer of our Letanie, Per crucem, &c. *By thy* Crosse, (and when I said it, what if, to testifie my faith, I made the signe of the Crosse?) *and by Thy Passion, good Lord deliver us!*"—Appello Cæsarem, pp. 279, 280.

* William Perkins, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. "He was," says Neale, "one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several treatises in favour of those doctrines, which involved him in a controversy with Arminius, then Professor of Divinity at Leyden, that continued to his death. He was a Puritan Non-Conformist, and a favourer of the discipline, for which he was once or twice before the High Commission; but his peaceable behaviour and great fame in the learned world procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his brethren. * * * His works, which were printed in 3 vols. fol., show him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious divine, considering he lived but forty-four years."—Hist. of the Puritans, i. 593, ed. 1732. Perkins died in 1602.

way by reason of the thawing of the snowe. In good faith, I dare not venture to come, nor can without manifest and great daunger of my health more to be impayred, and therefore, good Ihon, intreate my Lord, of all loves, to excuse me himself, and, if nede be, in his wisdome to excuse my absence to his Majestie upon this no fayned excuse. The rather he may do it because I dedicate it not, and his Majestie tooke notice of it from his Lordship. By preventing carefully a future sicknes att the beginning I shall the sooner and better be able to come and be with you at Convocation, if your niglers, as you call them, do not deceive you. In the interim, I pray with your pen amend some of theise the grosser faults in the booke for his Majestie, for it is ordinary to do soe, and let the printer have the rest. Upon Munday by my brother's servantt, when he returneth, I shall happely send more. I am redy to shake, and therfore must leave writing. Of all loves my Lord must excuse my dishability to come att present. So trusting to your good mention, I rest

Your assured

Ri. Mountagu.

Feb. vii. [1624-5.]

"To my very loving freind Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplayn to the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house be these."

XXXIV.—From the Same to the Same. [Miekleton MSS. xxvi. 44.]

Sir,

Though I wrote you the truth before, out of opinion only, yet now, as I promised, I can assure you the reporter of my Curatt's curteyling service upon Christmas day to honorable persons, was neither honorable nor honest himself. The service was begun and ended according to the booke,—not, a prayer, a psalm, a sermon,—but, the precedeing sentences, (2 of them) the Confession, Absolution, *Pater, Gloria, Venite,* proper psalms, the 1 lesson, *Te Deum* song,—not indeed with organs, for we have none—the second lesson, *Benedictus,* Creed, &c; then the second service, with Epistle and Gospell, a psalme, a short sermon, a long communion. Enough by the Canons, in charity to much for a sick man, who is more punctuall then they are in most cathedrall churches, or were lately in the K[ing's] chappell. Yet I hope the . . . Doctor was no puritan. Hereafter when you heare such reports, say nothing, or say they be lyes, and I know no such lye but in some cases is dispenseable. *Vale,* and if you have any newes letts heare it. I must close to my undertaken taske

this Lent, and will neither favour Arm[inianism], nor patronise Calv[inism], but the subscribed . . . . . and rest

Your loving frind

R. M.

Feb. 20, [1624-5.]

XXXV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 50.]

Sir,

Quod felix faustumque sit. Lett the booke go to the presse as soone as you will, seeing it hath such approbation. *O factum bene!* You have managed the matter with the timorsome Deane* εὖ καὶ καλῶς. A little whetting on thus, *interpolatis viribus*, would engage the man thoroughly, as this action will do somewhat, against his old gossipps. The thoroughnes of a man of that reckninge, and indede lerninge, would much disparage them; but *fiet σὺν Θεῷ*. I much thancke you for the pains in attending his reading it over agayne, and more shall for the presse in correcting of it. For the passage you write of, I am of opinion nothing should be altered, especially in that point of the Dortian tenet, but especially not of my professing my opinion. For as for that feare of arising a schisme, it can not light upon me, the Lectures being *post nati* to my Gagg, and I avouching not only the plaine letter of the Church of England, but the Puritans' owne interpretation of it that way at Hampton Court, by the mouth of Dr. Reynolds. And as for those Lambeth Articles, I speake it of knowledg, they were forbidden at Cambridg by expresse order from Court, for I was one appointed by Dr. Goode†, then our Provost, to copie them out, though I have not the copie nowe: and Archbishop Whitguift was soundly chidden, and thretned with a *Premunire*, by Q. Elizabeth, for presuming to tender any thing contrary to the doctrine of the Church‡. This is τὸ πᾶν, therfore in this I will be pardoned to yeeld any thing unto the Puritan, though never so strong, faction,

* White, Dean of Carlisle.

† Roger Goade was Provost of King's College from 1569 to 1610.—Le Neve, 428.

‡ "In these Articles there are these two things to be considered: first, the authority by which they are made; and, secondly, the effect produced by them, in order to the end proposed; and first, as touching the authority by which they were made, it was so far from being legal and sufficient, that it was plainly none at all. For what authority could there be in so thin a meeting, consisting only of the Archbishop himself, two other Bishops (of whom but one had actually received consecration), one Dean, and half-a-dozen Doctors and other Ministers, neither

unlesse for some qualifications of words, which yet I thinck needeth not, there being no gall in the whole booke. The man was afraid, where no feare was, *de premunire*, for giving licence to print, for was it not by speciall warrant from the King, against whom only, in his royall authority entrenched upon, *Premunire* lyeth, and I knowe no Parleamentry act that giveth either Canterbury or London any such speciall authority, and I am sure my L[ord] K[eeper] licenced my [Treatise] of Invocation, but it is well as it is. I sent you my Gagg last weeke. You say nothing *de receptione*. I hope you had it. But for my Frankeford notes against Bulenger, who is that frend that would have it fronted with *Ri. Montacutus Anglus?* The printer, I beleve, that thincketh that name will sell it. I thincke *Eugenius Oxylophœus ab Aquæduno* would do better, the rather because that is not *justum opus* nor *partus consummatus*, but ἡλιτόμηνος. I hold my opinion still for that time, but coloured little. I am glad you are in the people's books agayne. That fire at Paul's sheweth that *non est consilium in vulgo, non constantia, etc.*, and that if things were thoroughly and discreetly caried they might be as ernest against Puritanicall opinions as for them. I expect your Declaration in that point of which you speake, and Prideux' booke if you will, for I have not sene it. I am throughly about Eusebius for Paris, and when that is don, I shall intend that which I thincke will worke with the people, Ecclesiasticall Annals, in English *, according to Baronius' course, till the end of the Chalcedon Councell. It is true Magalon is nowe Montpellier, the Bishop's sea being translated by Pope Paul the 3, with

impowered to any such thing by the rest of the Clergy, nor authorized to it by the Queen.

* * * * * *

"And so much was confessed by the Archbishop himself, when he was called in question for it before the Queen, who, being made acquainted with all that passed by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who neither liked the tenets, nor the manner of proceeding in them, was most passionately offended that any such Innovation should be made in the publick Doctrine of this Church; and once resolved to have them all attainted of a *Præmunire*. But afterwards, upon the interposition of some friends, and the reverend esteem she had of the excellent prelate, the Lord Archbishop (whom she commonly called her *black husband*), she was willing to admit him to his defence: and he accordingly declared in all humble manner, that he and his associates had not made any Articles, Canons, or Decrees, with an intent that they should serve hereafter for a standing rule to direct the Church, but only had resolved on some propositions to be sent to Cambridge, for the appeasing of some unhappy differences in the University; with which answer, her Majesty being somewhat pacified, commanded, notwithstanding that he should speedily recall and suppress those Articles, which was performed with such care and dilligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after."—Heylin's Hist. Quinq. Artic. p. 622.

* "Had it been finished," says Fuller, "we had had Church Annalls to put into the ballance with those of Baronius, and which would have swayed with them for learning, and weighed them down for truth."—Fuller's Worthies, p. 132.

consent of the French king, from Magalona, an iland of the Midland sea, to Montpellier in Fraunce. But du Chesne, that writeth *de Episcopatibus Galliæ*, hath nothing of the Bishopp: and as yet we must blowe the seeke for your braviro, but no matter for the man if the matter be good. I heard before from Mr. Stokes howe harshly his Lordship intertayn'd your motion of a smale matter. It is his froward disposition. *Sic transeat.* For my part I knowe his humor, with which I do not desire to comply. The Church, *nisi fallor*, shall have no greate assistance *inde, nisi ratio utilitatis aderit.* But *tace, et utere consilio meo.* For the greate promises you write of to myself and those two, *video et rideo.* If they be affected as I am, no great hurt will come of it. By all means lett Lownes print it, but if you will, lett my brother Scull drive the bargaine, who will hold him to it well enough, the rather because you may have his furtherance with my self the easier if we need him hereafter. Presse matters. The mechanicks that squint only upon the bagg will gayne by us, and I se no reason but, when we may, to gayne by them. If so be the Gagg, as you say it is desired, and yett the old are not all sold, be reprinted, *consultandum est de modo, stylo, et subjecto pleniùs tractando.* That I sent you is but a delineation or award, *ad meliùs inquirendum.* We are, God be blessed, in helth all. If it be in presse pray send me word by what time you thincke it wilbe suplied. If Mr. Stokes be not att Westminster, returne I pray this letter againe, for I am not certayne whether [he] be or not, and but by trobling you I can not tell howe to write to him. *Vale.*

Your assured,

Pettworth, Feb. 21, [1624-5.] R. M.

"To the wⁿ. my worthy and much respected freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chapleyn in house to the right Reverend L. Bishop of Durham, be this."

XXXVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 56.]

Good Mr. Cosen,

I receeved the Eusebius, but how certeinly to dispose of it I can not resolve till answer of my letter from Paris, which I sent inclosed in your last for Fetherston. Whether they desire the copie to follow it, or notes out of it, I can not tell. The 5 books I have translated against Marcellus into Latin, almost all, and will, God willing, do all, with many notes. If they will print them also, I will send them, else not: and I will have caution to

do it. For in Basil the holy Father of the Society deceived me. Thus I have sent them word, upon assurance you shall knowe, and accordingly send your Bravo. What is he? I am to seeke both for Gaius * and Magalon †. Segnia, I thinck, is in Dalmatia. It may be *Myræi notitia Episcopatuum totius orbis,* which booke I have not, will help you; but when he is printed let criticks fight it out, *qui genus unde domo.* I thincke Dr. Lindsell hath some that would augment his Bibliotheca. There wilbe time to enquire *post reditum,* which, (when will it be?) if not till Easter, I conclude no Parlament at the time. Your eggs, man, if they prove not adle, the blessing you bestowed upon them be with them: but if he touch me I may happily lash him in English or Latin. When I see it I shall knowe more of him, but as yet I say as Dr. Perne . . . . doth he name me? The next returne I shall heare by you what a goodly fire our Sabbatarian hereticks made att the Crosse ‡. For my booke I committ it wholy to your ordering, yet I could wish it out, for satisfaction against the . . . . . of Puritanisme, and to lett them se that *non obtusa adeò gestamus pectora.* You shall have an Epistle *then* to the King, *etiam ultrà* the Appeale. My Gagg I have sent you, with the additions; you will quickly finde my order. I shall not nede to direct you. I thought it not fitt to write all over againe. If it come to the presse I must happely alter some what, because it is in the Appeall, and δὶς κράμβη θάνατος; and I was not sure whether both or either should come forth. I meane also to adde a preface att least to the Latin. If they are to be under presse, I thincke it wilbe time enough then to send, but for concealing my name it is a by peice I doe. Not *tanti.* Happely I should anger some abroad that I would not till Eusebius be printed, and

* "Gaius à Danis in insulam Maiam fugiens ibi martyrium passus est anno DCCCLXXIV. Scripsit *Conciones,* lib. i. Quæ in Maia cœnobio usque ad reformationem extare dicuntur. Dempster, vii. pag. 566."—Tanner's Biblioth. Brittan. Hibern., p. 303.

† "Magalona, *Maguelone,* insula maris Mediterranei, in quâ olim fuit templum Canonicorum S. Augustini, nunc simplicium, ut vocant, cum Episcopatu, sub A. Narbonensi. Inde sedes Episcopalis, ob prædonum injurias, translata est Montem Pessulum, *Montpelier,* urbem et Academiam Volcarum Arecomicorum, anno 1536, auctoritate Pauli III. Papæ. Ex eâ tamen urbe Episcopi, quàm primum mortui sunt, Magalonam sepeliendi deportantur. Templum S. Petri cathedrale à Novatoribus solo æquatum est: Canonici tamen in exiguo loco adhuc serviunt Deo, et in ruinis præclari quondam templi consistunt."—Miræi Notitia Episcopatuum Orbis Christiani: lib. v. p. 359. Antwerp, 1613. We learn from the same authority that Segnia is in Sclavonia, being a suffragan see under the Archbishop of Spalato.—Ibid. lib. ii. p. 74. The place intended is probably *Segni,* in Croatia.—See Fabricius, Lux Evangelii. Index, p. 160.

‡ "Last Lord's Day, after the Sermon at the Cross, was Mr. Elton's book on the Commandments, and a little book of Mr. Dennison's, burnt for containing schismatical doctrine of the Lord's Day and administration of the Sacrament." Mr. Chamberlain to Jos. Meade, Feb. 18, 1624-5.—Court and Times of James I., ii. p. 498.

Eugenius Oxylophœus (so lett it be) *ab Aquæduno*, is Richard Mountague of Eton, for so I was when I wrote it. Richard in English, saith Mr. Camden in his Remayns, is *Eugenius* in Grek, and *Oxylophœus*, or *Aspricollensis*, is Mountague you knowe. So I do not take a false name, but cover my owne, as Melancthon, who was Swartzeerth in Duch. But do as you will with it. It is true I am farr of, but I intend σὺν Θεῷ to winter next time nerer, and after Easter to be a while at Winsore. I am afraid I shall not come before Lent, both because I would make but one journy when the booke is don, as go I must and present it, but especially because the frost hath rotted our wayes, making them scarce passable, and we had no winter till nowe. My wife and Mall remembered them to you. Because we are so farr of, I spare your journy till I come to Windsore. You have cancelled my bond, I hope, in G. Limitar's hand.

Mal chose you for her Valentine last night, and would have none else. I here say the Bishop of Exeter * is very sicke, and not like to escape. I am sory, for I thincke *stat rectus in sententiâ*, one of the firmest against our faction. My Lord of S. David's will none of that, will he? If not, he may do a frendly part, to putt his greate frend † in minde of his voluntary and large offers unto me once. This is no speding of favors I take it, which is against a rule in Court: which his Lordship understands well enough. I shall thancke him for it, if he will, and happily [*haply*] I should then do the Church more good then *privatus* I can. There was one which [said of] Cato, *Ambitio è repub*[*licâ*] ‡: and though my L[ord] K[eeper] said lately in his spech to the Chief Justice Crewe, that Bishops were wont to take their horses and ride from Court, not to Court, att times of vacations of preferment, it was true of some retyred men in those dayes, but *alia nunc tempora, mores alii*. But I am to longe, *et nimis in istis* to which not *meâ causâ*, but *ecclesiæ, discendo*, for in respect of my peculiar I am better. *Vale*.

Your assured,
Ri. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
St. Valentine's day, [1624-5.]

"To the wrll. my most worthe freind Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the right R. L. Bishop of Durham, be these."

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* Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter from 1621 to 1626. He was previously Dean of St. Paul's.

† The Duke of Buckingham. We learn from a former letter "how graciously the Duke had used him." See *antè*, p. 22.

‡ Mountagu no doubt means, that his principle of action was the same as that attributed to Cato: "Ambition in the interest of the State," aiming at power, yet without unworthy purposes. The editor has failed to discover the source of the brief quotation.

XXXVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. (loose paper).]

Mary, Sir, you sent me good holsome doctrine indeed. Sick stuff never read I before. Methincks our Informers in Parleament should take hold of such stuff. To what a passe are we come, that must have the Church exposed to obloquie for such barbarismes. Me thincks Elton should not father nor foster such prodigies. I knewe him in Cambridg, and he was ever held a temperate man. And were not the Dr.'s braynes made of the papp of an apple that would allowe such stuff to the presse? It is well the books made a fire*, though not all, I doubt. But they are not burned that made the books. Lett Puritans runne on, and whether or not they . . . . . it, I shall wholy and totally make you overseer, and overman to, of my book at presse, for you may knowe congruityes and conv[enien]cyes there which I can not, being countryfied. My notes upon Eusebius† shall nott any way offend their catholick eares att Paris, be they long or [? *short*] but howe I shall dispose that I can not say till I heare agayne from them. . . . . your Braviro, it is not *conclamatum:* no such matter: for only Greeke an . . . . . You shall have Hulstenius' words: *Animus mihi est, alia* [? *ex operibus*] *prætermissorum et ineditorum hactenus authorum subjungere* [? *fragmenta vel ἀνέκδοτα*] *quo thesaurus ille instrui et locupletari queat . . . . ad Dominum Morellum*‡. Butt if it be so, whie can not we in [England make] up a volume of *Prætermissos et ineditos?* I knowe we may [easily do it]. If you despayre, I send you that which came to me from Mr. [Frith, one of] our Chanons att Windsore, with this letter to him from Dr. James§ of Oxford: "Good Mr. Frith‖, &c. I send to you a smale token of my

* See note on p. 59.

† The edition of Eusebius *de Demonstratione Evangelicâ*, &c., in which Mountagu had a considerable share, was not published until 1628. The part he took in it appears on the title-page:—*Quibus accessêre nondum hactenus editi nec visi contrà Marcellum Ancyræ Episcopum libri duo: De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ tres: omnia studio R. M. Latinè facta, Notis illustrata: et indicibus loco suo necessariis locupletata.*

‡ No doubt Charles Morel, an eminent printer at Paris. His name appears on the title-page of the edition of Eusebius, referred to in the foregoing note.

§ Thomas James, Fellow of New College, Oxford. His knowledge of books brought him under the notice of Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Bodley, by whose influence he was appointed the first keeper of the public library at Oxford. He became subdean of Wells and rector of Mongeham. Camden speaks of him in his Britannia (p. 601, ed. 1695) as "the learned Thomas James of Oxford, who may deservedly be stiled *φιλόβιβλος*, as one that is wholly intent upon books and learning." Amongst other learned works he published *Notæ ad Georgium Wicelium, de Methodo Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ, cum Catalogo Authorum qui scripserunt contrà squalores Ecclesiæ Romanæ.* London. 1625. 8vo. Dr. James died at Oxford in August, 1629, and was buried in New College Chapel.

‖ Thomas Frith, B.D., of All Souls' College, Oxford, rector of Elmeley, and canon of Windsor in 1610. He wrote *A Catalogue* (*or rather History*) *of the Dean*

good will to you and my zeale to the Church, 3 smale papers as they are directed, one to you, the second to your Deane, the 3 to Mr. Mountagu, with whom I would be glad, for his many good parts," (do they thinck so att Oxford?) "to intertayne some correspondency and acquaintance, but I have no dore whereby to enter into his frendship. He is lerned," (*credite posteri*) "and so would I bee. I pray enquire of him from him whether he ever sawe or read any thing of George Wicelius*, an obscure author, but of great use for composing the differences betwixt us and the Papists." (Marke this.) "That which I cheifly sought after, and would be glad to find, is his 4 bookes of Epistles, as . . . . if he have any rare booke of Advertisements concerning the Councell of Trent." (What to doe? can you tell?) "I pray make the like enquiry at Eton College for this Wicelius' works. I had forgott to write to it in myne to Mr. Hales, and so commending us both to you and yours in greate hast I take my leave and rest yours. From Oxford 15°. Feb., 1624."

I returned him thancks for his little greate token, which I send you if you have not seen it. As also that I never would be wantinge to God's church, noe how, though with opposition and dislike of some, the cheife in his catalouge of subscribers. You shall find ther whome I meant, and I would have him take notice of it. When superiors should thinck fitt, I would be as

and Canons of St. George's Chappel within the Castle of Windsor; commencing with the foundation of that chapel in 1348, and reaching to the end of 1628. A continuation of this History was compiled by George Evans, Canon of Windsor. Anthony à Wood acknowledges his obligations to Frith's work in the compilation of his Fasti Oxonienses, and says that Ashmole made much use of it in his *Institutions, &c., of the Order of the Garter.* Lond. 1672: as did also Dr. Peter Heylin in his *History of St. George of Cappadocia.* Lond. 1631. Frith, to whom Anthony à Wood gives the character of "a most judicious and industrious man," died in Feb. 1631, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.—See Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, pt. i. 306.

* George Wicelius, born at Fulda in 1501, embraced a religious life, which he shortly after relinquished, and became a follower of Luther. Disgusted with the divisions which resulted from the Reformation, he returned to the Catholic Church, and occupied his whole subsequent life with plans for the reunion of the two religions. Luther, provoked by his desertion, procured his imprisonment at Wittemberg. From this he was released, after a confinement of nearly two years, by the intervention of the Count de Mansfield. The emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian honoured him with their confidence, and employed him in reconciling the different communions within their dominions.

Wicelius died at Mayence in 1573. His works are very numerous, and were all directed to the subject of the reunion of Catholics and Protestants. They were composed in German, afterwards translated into Latin, and brought together in the Appendix to *Fasciculus rerum Expetendarum* of Edward Brown, with notes by Thomas Jones. His principal works are:—I. *Methodus Concordiæ.* Leipsig, 1537, 12mo, addressed to all rulers, urging them to procure the peace of the Churches. II. *Via Regia.* Helmstædt, 1650, 12mo, published by Herman Conring. III. *Querela adversus Lutherum,* 1524. IV. *De sacris nostri temporis controversiis.* George Wicelius, his son, was the author of several works; amongst others, of a *History of St. Boniface,* in Latin verse. Cologne, 1553, 4to.

redy as any, and for his desire of ac[quaintance I accept it], with all my heart.

So here is some newes if you have not seen it. The Dr. you write of I knowe to be as you speeke, Ἰσραηλίτης ἀληθῶς, my old acquaintance of the same yere in Cambridge, but yett if I may have my owne minde I would not have *R. Mountacutius Anglus* front it, but as I wrote. Commend me to that good honest Dr. when you see him. I like it well which you speke of the Articles, but it would be considered *quomodo, quo methodo:* whether to drawe each into Propositions direct, naturally arising, etc. and to vewe them by Scripture, Boocks, Fathers, then to inferre the opposite, in the Church of Rome, or *præter et suprà*, and to disavowe that by Scripture, Fathers, *praxis*, reason. Or what thinck you? But still in every one to affixe the Puritanicall impostures and adpostures, not warranted *in Articulo*, thus, or thus. And when it is don to procure that every parish may have one, as of Jewell's work. If this be allredy so far proceded in by the Zanchianiser you write of we shalbe prevented. Thinke upon it. I will not be wanting. But were it not good that my Lord of Durham did acquaint the King with it at first? I myself did with the story of the Church, which he lik'd wondrus well. Theise towe would be 2 pillars for our doctrine and discipline I conceive, and the συνεκτικὰ ἔρεισματα against opposers. Thinck of it. I shalbe redy.

I thanck you for your love to Mr. Stoks. He is a good scholler and wilbe right. He is in good terms with his Lord, and hath witt to hold it, and if he will, as I thinck he will, be ruled by me, he shall not lie in house with his Lord. I have allway found it, in my experience, to be better att distance than nere. Every man is not my Lord of Durham, who is sure and fast and immoveable where he taketh. He shall ever and anon make a step over unto his Lord and away agayne, for such grandies must be touched, not pressed.

In good faith my hand is weary of writing, yet could I finde in my heart not to take it of. I have none with whom I may so frely *fabulari*. God kepe you, and us all, for his, and the Churche's, and his Majesty's service. Next weke I wilbegin to thincke upon my Epistle. If any sheets be printed I pray send me one or two, or rather, as they come of, and your occasions are to send. It will make a booke att last. I pray send this inclosed to Mr. Osbeston, Scholemaster of Westminster*. *Vale.*

Your most assured

Pettworth, Feb. 29, [1624-5.] Ri. Mountagu.

(Address torn off.)

* Lambert Osbaldeston, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford. He became Master of

XXXVIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 26.]

Sir,

My love and thancks remembered. Your booke was the first newes I had certeyne of Spalato*, who was, it appeareth, an honester man then he was taken for, as good as his word unto my self and others. You see upon desperate terms of separation we stand. No yelding or moderation any way to be hoped for in point of opposition from that Church, so long as Puritan Jesuits beare the sway.

The Parleament, I heare, is putt of, but *quousque*, and *quorsum* I can nott heare. I am loth to come up before the booke be don, that so *unâ fideliâ duos parietes*. Otherwise I had come nowe with Mr. Stokes, who is sent for by his Lord for a benefice I heare. I wrote not by the carier because my man was to come, by whom you may returne what you please: though what you dare not write you shall kepe till I see you. I have sent an Epistle without much a doe, if you please to write it over fayre for the King, because my hand is none of the best†. If it be not to purpose, as my Lord would have it, send me a particular of some heads to insist on. I shall thinck upon these Articles, peradventure, more seriously, but not till I have sent Eusebius to Paris.

Westminster School in the place of Dr. John Wilson, and succeeded the celebrated Dr. Christopher Sutton as prebendary of the tenth stall in the Church of Westminster. He was a learned man, and very successful as a teacher, "inasmuch," says Anthony à Wood, "that he had, as 'tis reported, above 80 doctors in the three great faculties, in the two Universities, that did gratefully acknowledge their education under him, before the grand rebellion broke out." He wrote some bitter libels against Archbishop Laud, for which he was prosecuted in the Star Chamber, fined £5000, and besides the loss of his preferments, was sentenced to have his ears nailed to the pillory in the presence of his scholars. This last sentence he avoided by withdrawing himself from Westminster in 1638. It is nevertheless due to Laud's memory to state, that he expressed the greatest abhorrence of the barbarous sentence, and would have prevented its being carried into execution, if Osbaldeston had not withdrawn himself.—Cf. Heylin's Cyp. Angl. p. 325. Osbaldeston was afterwards restored to his preferments by the Long Parliament, and allowed to keep his stall, when all the rest of the prebendaries were ejected. He died in 1659, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.—See Fasti Oxon. pt. i. p. 387

* Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato. For a long account of him, see Hacket's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, part i. pp. 98—103. See also Heylin's Cyp. Angl. part. i. pp. 101—103.

† Mountagu seems to have been aware of his own deficiency as a legible writer. His letters, especially when hurriedly written, are exceedingly difficult to decipher. He could not have employed any one better fitted to write out his Epistle "fayre for the King," than his friend Cosin, whose hand-writing, until he became shaken by age, is most beautiful. His καλλιγραφία is even thought worthy of honourable mention by his biographer, Dr. Smith, "literas optimè formare et pingere cognovisset."—Vita Ioannis Cosini, p. 2; apud *Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium Virorum, &c.* Lond. 1707.

God willing, after Easter I come to Windsore, though if Austen be returned I se no reason but you may stepp out hether. Howsoever and whersoever, God Almightie blesse you, and preserve his Church. I can not att present thinck upon answere to your question of Prebends, etc. I shall att more leisure and hereafter.

Your most assured,
R: Mountagu.

Pettworth,
March 8, [1624-5.]

"To the wll. my most assured loving freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, be this."

XXXIX.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 24.]

Sir,
I received by my man, who came not home till Saturday, your letter with the inclosed sheets. I thancke you for your care and pains. The faults are not many nor greate, and those that are may be cast into a bedroll att the end. It is impossible to avoyde all faults, only Mr. Lownes might have putt it upon better paper. Some I hope he will, for his Majesty and others. I am most hartily sory for his sicknes. It standeth us in hand to lift up hands and eyes, and heart and all, to heaven for the sun of our happines, *"the chariott of Israel and the horsemen thereof." Serus in cœlum redeat, diuque lætus intersit populo;* that we have no cause to complayne, *Ἐῤῥεῖ τὰ καλά· Μίνδαρος δ' ἀπέσσυται· ἀπολόμεσθά τ' ἄνδρες· τί χρὴ δρᾶν**. Whensoever it shall please God that his Majesty be in disposition to peruse it, I have returned you my Epistle, I thincke somewhat qualified according to each censure, especially . . . . left out all noted passages; though it be true *abundan* . . . . . *non nocet,* and I hartily thancke my Lord of Durham for his grea .. . . . . that way. Yet I can not see how it could have been taken by the Parliament ill, which no man I hope will count a faction: especially not there where I positively spake of Puritans, unlesse they will take that title to themselves. But I have altered it, and restrayn'd Puritan faction to the Clergie parte, and left out the second passage cleane, though it was their own words in there suggestion against me. There was nothing noted by you but I have alter'd

* Mountagu is quoting from memory. The *ipsissima verba* of the passage are *Ἐῤῥεῖ τὰ καλά· Μίνδαρος δ' ἀπέσσυται· πεινῶντι τῶνδρες· ἀπορέομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.*—Xenophon. Hist. Græc. i. 15.

it. And for quicknes, I wonder my Lord of Rochester could putt a spurr into me who was ever wont to hold the reyns hard that I went not to quicke. But I did it purposely, because it was to the King, with whom in awfull regard I would not be to nimble. Yet since it is thought fitt, I have a little putt my selfe upon a carere in galing the brethren, and especially upon hint of that knight* that understood not my language. You may dash it out if you will. If it be to quicke, hold it in. That, or any thing else, I give you free leave and libertie. Yet I could wish my Lord of Durham would howsoever showe it the King, and then it may be alter'd as he will have it. But if the King like, what I have written shall so passe as I have written it. *Ringantur, rumpantur, fremant, frendant parvi, magni, Puritani, securi parati; flocci facio, cicco non interduim, jacta est alea, eatur.* For the other censure, of lenght in the narration, I have curtal'd it too. You have it nowe as well as I can make it; mend what you will, marre what you list: but yet desire my Lord from me that the King may see it as it is.

Mr. Stokes had no leysure as last time to see you, and since I have not seen him. There is a rubb in the benefice, and I am glad. It was within 4 mile of Coventrie, no great thing. Coventry is a second Geneva. Ther was a former grant passed some 2 yere since from the L[ord] K[eeper] for a seiall [*seal*] in case of simony. The Incumbent did overthrow the pretender att common lawe, who went about att the High Commission; but the Incumbent diing, he in the county of the Bishop of Lychfeild gat institution and possession, by the former presentation, upon lapse. Howe the King will take it I can not tell. Mr. Stokes, I have sent him word not to meddle with it. I excuse your coming hether, indeed the way is long.

After Easter I purpose to be at Windsore, though I thincke the Parliament will not hold, and with you when the booke is redy. Remember my service and love to all in your house. *Vale.*

Your assured ever,
R. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
March 14, [1624-5.]

"To the w[ll]. my most assured loving freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the L. B. of Durham, be this."

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* Possibly Sir Humphrey Lynd. He was a learned man, but a bitter Puritan, and an avowed enemy to all who were called Arminians. He wrote several works, chiefly in opposition to the Church of Rome. Sir Humphrey died in 1636, and was buried at Cobham in Surrey. Dr. Featley preached his funeral sermon.—Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. p. 601.

XL.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 29.]

Good Mr. Cosen,

I received the 3 last sheets you sent, which, through your care, is well don. That passage in the Epistle itt mattereth not whether it be precisely understood or not of others. He himself *quem tangit*, will conceive it: but I leave it to your discretions to publish it or not. It is so disposed you may leave it out if you will. But I will have him take notice of the scorne I hold him in, att least, by his wive's brother, with whom I am familiarly acquainted, an honest gentleman though somewhat precise.

I know my Lord of Durham's fashion of old, for his Lent sermon, but am sory it faleth so late in Lent, because happily [*haply*] it may stay the booke longer, which I would were out, if possible, before Parlement; though I veryly beleve it will not hold.

I did not thinck you had had Professors in your house, though there be discreet ones. If this case had been voluntary it were somewhat; but must I bely my self, being so leyd att originally?

Your ordering of the whole by partitive *lemmata*, &c., of the Chapters I like well. It giveth light and a quick apprehension of the whole.

Mr. Stokes is not yet with me, but att his returne I will recommend your love to him, as I doe my owne heartily to you, and us both to God's good protection

Your most affectionate

R. Mountagu.

Pettworth, March 21, [1624-5.]

"To the wll. my most assured and respected freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen,
Chaplayn in house to the R. L. Bishopp of Durham,
att Durham house, this."

XLI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. (loose paper).]

My hand shakes, my heart sobbs, oh woe! and wofull hevy day! This morning, as I was settling myself to write, comes a post to my Lord of Northumberland that ἔῤῥει τὰ καλά: King James *vixit**. What shall I do? as for my booke *eat quo*. I intend,

* King James I. died on Sunday, March 27, 1625. For an account of his death, see Fuller's Church Hist. x. p. 113; Echard, i. p. 978; also Ellis' Orig. Letters, 2nd ed. iii. p. 183 (Jos. Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville).

God willing, instantly to see you. I can not write on. God blesse King Charles, and send him to tread his father's stepps. *Interim,—*

Hei mihi! quantum
Præsidium Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule.*

Your sorow . . . .
R. Mount[ague]

Pettworth:
this unfortunate
28 Martij, [1625.]

"To my worthie frind Mr. Ihon Cosen, att Durham house, this."

XLII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 30.]

Sir,

I have received by the boate the things you sent, all entire, and the newes you imparted from the faction, which, though it be like enough to be a faction, yet I can not but be jealous least it may arise from some cause. You may aske the Deane if he said soe, and I will cause the Lord Keeper to aske the King, but if he should require authores, what shall I say? Howsoever, I do not care what they talke, for I thinck they can not tell what to say well. I have since ben thretned with warrs from Oxford, but the party spake conjecturally. If it be but *calamo tenus*, all the Calvinists in the world come on, I care not. I will nowe begin to reade Arminius, *et partes* in the controversies. I pray help me to gett them, for you know I am unacquainted with the men, and send me my answere to the Gagger you have in writing, that I may fitt it for his Grace, (if he call for it) little to comfort.

Yesterday . . . . . by my man from Pettworth, whether my wife is . . . . . letter from my noble freind and neighbour the Earl of North[umberland]. Amongst other things he writeth, *in terminis*, "For the choyce of a Chaplayne, I desire not a better then by Mr. Doctor Lindsel, therefore go forward I pray with it." Send therefore for your man *quantocius*. Lett him come to me to Windsore; I will go along with him σὺν Θεῷ. Lett Lindsell knowe howe much that worthie Lord estemeth him; as he doth all honest men *et rectos corde*.

We did not heare of our Gracious Queen Mary to be putt into the prayers. I have told the Deane of it. I thinck it wilbe

* Virg. Æneid. xi. 57.

don. As for my late Master, *requiem æternam* to his blessed soull. Though we commemorate him no more in λειτουργίαις, yet *in memoriâ æternâ erit justus. Vale.*

Yours *ex animo*
Ri. Mountagu.

Windsore, May xij. [1625.]
(Address torn off.)

XLIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 62.]

Sir,

The fault was in our waterman who came so late unto you with my letter; but I excuse him, because he promised to deliver it himself, as he did, and could not, happely, come any sooner. Your former relation I had safe, which gave me a greate deale of contentment, and lett me understand att full the Puritan charity what it is, such as Arminius found amongst the brethren in the Netherlands. From their doctrine, discipline, and charity, Good Lord deliver me and all honest men. Dissentients they indure not in any petitt opinions, but *odio Vatiniano execrantur.*

I desire to heare what is returned to his Majesty by the Committee for my booke, if it be possible, for therein is μεγάλη ῥοπή. I hope then by your words Dr. White is firme, though the sonne of a flatt capp told him he had better have cutt off his hand; who likewise wrote downe to Dr. Prideux at Oxford that I had vilified him, and undervalued him in my originall copy, but Dr. White would not suffer it so to passe with, "one Prideux," and worse terms of disgrace: which it seemeth hath so incensed the Dr., this patron of Featly, that urchin, for his client is the *graund boutefeu* in the business: you knowe his name, Sr. knight, or rather Sr. Knave*. I heard of that Jack-an-apes sermon† before, by an other. If he were charged with it he would under his hand happely deny it, as he hath somewhat else. But possesse your soull in patience, the spiritt moveth them, their toungs are their owne, they will speake; and lett them.

Att Oxford they are all on fire. Here were last weeke at

* Probably Sir Humphrey Lynd. See *antè*, p. 66, *note.*

† Mountagu possibly refers to a sermon of Prideaux's, who published two in this year: (1) *Serm. at the Consecration of Exeter Coll. Chap.; on Luke* xix. 46. Oxon. 1625, 4to. (2) *Perez-Uzzah, Serm. before the King at Woodstock, on* 2 *Sam.* vi. 6, 7. Oxon. 1625, 4to.

Eaton some of the tribe with Mr. Hales *, and no talke but declaming against M. Mountagu. Dr. Prideaux, if he had him there, would teach him better Divinity. In Bocardo you must imagine. *Satis pro imperio.* Dr. Benefield † would teach him his catechisme. Greate offers! Am I not beholding to theise men, *qui me nihil sapere docerent, et magno conatu magnas nugas agere?* Nowe ἐπὶ ξυρᾶς ἀκμῇ, and if our Gamaliel ‡ will nowe open his mouth and speake out, happily [*haply*] he may do that good for which God will reward him, and all posterity thanck him.

It is also reported that in my booke I should gird at Dr. Lindsell's acquaintance Mr. Sibbs, because I use the word *sib* §, and, howe I knowe not, it is with a capitall letter. Howe inventive are theise men; though this you knowe was in my Lord of S. David's mouth, when I was last with you, and I said then, that would ensue which doth. Graye's Inn men, I heare say, are offended att it. For their sakes Lindsell may do well to assure Mr. Sibbs of my innocency in that point. Mr. Delawne, the man you maried ‖, was with me the other day with his unckle, my reversioner of Stamford. He told me he would see you *in transitu.* I did not write, because he could not stay.

For Mr. Mallorye's businesse, thus it is: boording and break-

* No doubt the learned John Hales, Fellow of Eton College, the ally of Sir Henry Savile in his edition of Chrysostom. He was a determined enemy of Calvinism, and likely, on that account, to sympathize with Mountagu. For an account of his life and publications, see Athenæ Oxon. iii. pp. 409, et seqq.

† Sebastian Benfield, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He became Margaret Professor in 1613, which office he held for about fourteen years. He was the author of several sermons, and a Commentary on Amos. His views were Calvinistic. He died Aug. 24, 1630.—Cf. Athenæ Oxon. ii. p. 487.

‡ Bishop Andrewes, to whom he gives this appellation more than once, when quoting from his works.—See *Appello Cæsarem*, pp. 215, 265.

§ "But as I said, so I see it fareth still now adayes: as with the Jesuite and Jesuited Papist, such as be by farre the major part of that side, every man is a Heretic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, I know not what, that is not a desperate Papist, to goe unto the Divell with them, though it be upon a second pouder plot; so also with our Puritans, very *Sibs* unto those Fathers of the Society, every moderate man is bedaubed with those goodly habiliments of Arminianisme, Popery, and what not? unlesse he will be frantick with them for their Holy Cause."—*Appello Cæsarem*, pp. 138, 139. The word means *cousin* or *kinsman*, or when used as an adjective, *related to* or *akin*. Spenser uses the word:—

> "The spouse of Britomart, is Arthegall,
> Hee wonneth in the land of Fayeree,
> Yet is no Fary borne, ne *sib* at all
> To elfes, but sprong of seed terrestriall."
>
> Fairy Queen, III. iii. 26.

‖ Mr. Abraham Delaune, of the family of Delane of Sharstede, in Kent, and Mrs. Mary Wheeler, fifth daughter of Sir Edmond Wheeler, of Rideing Court, in the county of Bucks, Knt., were married on the second Sunday after the Epiphany, 1624, at Datchet, near Windsor. A sermon appropriate to the occasion was preached by Cosin.—See the first Volume of his Works, published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, p. 44.

fest will stand him in 16li. per annum, 40s. tutorage, which is all the ordinary expenses I knowe. It may in all stand him in some 24li. per annum. If he be desirous to have him thither, I will recommend him to a tutor; or, if he will, I thinck he may be att Petworth, where is a good scholler, and painfull and carefull, who teacheth my sonne. By your next let me understand Mr. Mallorye's resolution, and whether of the two he will I will take order.

I entend to go to Pettworth, so sone as Mr. Cruso cometh, with him. Lett him come *quàm citius*. I would have him preach their next Sunday, for my Lord expecteth him. I see no reason but for a day or 2 you may *excurrere* to Windsore with him, telling my Lord of Durham the occasion. Dr. Newell *, or Dr. Lindsell, for so little time may discharge for you. My wife is there nowe, and will go back with me, but I thinck we shall returne hither againe after Whitsuntide.

You knowe I expect missives and pursevants dayly. Dr. Prideux, you wrote, hath thretned the first thing the Parleament doth shalbe (for they doubtless are att his beck) to burne my booke, and whie not me?

Remember my love to Mr. Mallory, though unknowen, and thanck him for his kindenes to the cause, indeed rather then any private man; for nowe it is *nixus puritanismi*. They will putt on, and putt to, and make bold with, as the rule is in Tacitus, the Prince newe in state †. But if those whom it concerneth more then young men be wanting att such good occasions,—

——— *Si Pergama dextris*
Defendi possent, nostris defensa fuissent ‡.

God bless his Church, the King, and those that love them.
Ἡ χάρις Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῶν.

Your assured loving friend
R. Mountagu.

Windsore,
May 23, [1625.]

If by any means you can, come along with Mr. Cruso.

(No address.)

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* Robert Newell, half-brother and chaplain to Neile, Bishop of Durham. He became a prebendary of Westminster in 1620, and was successively Treasurer of Chichester, Canon of Lichfield, Sub-Dean of Lincoln, and Prebendary of Durham. He died at Winchester in 1643.—Cf. Fasti Oxon. part i. p. 289, and Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 171.

† Mountagu probably had the following passage from Tacitus in his mind:—*Sed patres læti, usurpatâ statim libertate; licentius, ut ergà principem novum et absentem.*—Hist. lib. i. 4.

‡ Virg. Æneid. ii. 291.

XLIV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 5.]

Sir,

Our moderate men, or furious frantiques are not more out of patience with me then my wife is with you. She looked for I knowe not how many thraves of bookes to give her gossips, and do you put her of with such a trick? If she had not feared that you would have showed her letter to my Lord of S. David's, (for Lindsell, she understandeth, is gon a calving into Essex,) you should have heard of it on both your eares, to tell her that she thincks not so well of every word and title as you doe, who saith she will yeld to none in thincking. But by this her choler is over, and therefore enough of that. I thought my good frends had talked enough att random till they talked with me to purpose, it is more then a nyne dayes wonder. I hope att lenght some of them will sett in hand to answere me. And yet I thincke not, if they begin to encline to the doctrinall part, and kepe the morall out. Lett them come of roundly to my doctrine, I will eate my words of Puritans, etc. for personall quarell have I none to any one of them. It is well that they begin to talke of actions on the case, but that, I doubt, will not hold, for advantage will be on my side. If I have called conformitants, themselves I meane, Puritans, they have stiled me, as conforme I am sure, seditious and papist. Let us joyne issue, if they will. Dr. White and you are in a good course for your Collections. Happily [*haply*] we may make good use of them otherwise, though not nowe.

I have a project I will tell you of one day. But what said Lindsell to my Lord of Winchester's proposition there? And so he is to be printed, indeed, whose barbarismes shall never prophane my pulpett.

I thanck you hartily and Dr. Pace, with Mr. Otly, for my pore sister. What or when she shall have ease I can not tell yet, I feare to sone to use them. I propose upon Munday, σὺν Θεῷ, to be att Windsore. Write your next thether. I am sory to heare of Mr. Gibbon's death. Would one I could name had press'd him ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης*. Mr. Cruso is well, and look'd to heare from you. Whether he did or not I knowe not, for I write my letter instantly upon receyte of yours, having an opportune

* Hom. Il. Σ. 104.

and spedy messenger. I mervaile I can not here from my brother Scull. If you see him, tell him so. *Vale.*

Tuissimus,

R. MOUNTAGUE.

Pettworth,
June 10, [1625.]

"To the wrll. my verie worthie and assured freind, Mr. Iho. Cosen Chaplyn in house to the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, be this."

XLV.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 32.]

SIR, I had thought to have ben at Windsore as this day, but yesterday I was taken with so extreame a fitt of the collick, and, I thinck, stone, as I never was to my remembrance in my life. I am, I thanke God, rid of them; but it hath much weaken'd me with the payne, and somewhat distemper'd my body. But I hope to be att Windsore by the midst of the weke, *σὺν Θεῷ*, so that you shall not nede to direct your letters unto me by this carier, but Windsore boate, only Mr. Cruso desires to heare from you, who wrote to you once since he came. He liketh the place well, I thinck, and I am sure the whole house liketh him very well. If you write to him, send him word, if you can, that he may informe my Lord of it, whether Mr. Burgen of your Church be dead or not*, as my Lord is inform'd. His benefice is in my Lord's guift. The advowson is gon to Dr. Chambers, who was my Lord Percie's tutor, but he hath an other alredy, and my Lord would not be defeated of one or other.

I wrote unto you upon Saturday by Mr. Douce, a gentleman that liveth with my Lord. I hope you had it. He is a Parleament man, and one that will speake, if nede be: a Mr. of Arts in Oxford, and I thincke Cambridge to. I thought my Lord of . . . . . had been att Canterbury, but Dr. Greene told me yesterday he was not. I pray remember my humble service to him, and tell him stones out of Pettworth pulpett will not reach the Professor at O[xford] †,

* Francis Burgoyne, D.D., became Prebendary of Durham in 1617. He was rector of Bishop-Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, and of Spofforth, in Yorkshire, of which latter benefice the Earl of Northumberland was patron. Burgoyne did not die until 1633. See Hutchinson's Hist. Durham, ii. 201. Burgoyne was one who cordially joined with Cosin in every attempt to restore and maintain high ceremonial in the services of the Church, as will be seen hereafter.

† Dr. Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

——— ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξύ
Οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα *, etc.,

but if Dr. Lindsel will not do as he would have him, I will write my Gagg agayne, and will do as he will have me: the rather because my word is so past to his G[race] of C[anterbury], who *utinam cum Diis ageret ævum*, and, if he will have me, I will not spare, but yet in an other stile. I thincke it is with you as with us: many talke of Robin Hood that never shott in his bowe, raile upon my booke by hearsay that never read it. Two in theise parts, of our coate, but not cutt, have come and ask'd me forgivenesse, and I forgave them. They tell me I have not sufficiently explan'd my self in the Gag: *hinc ille* ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει, just as his Grace saide. Well, I will doe it *in iteratâ editione*, if my freinds thincke fitt. *Omnia benè*, if our Gamaliel will not faile. God kepe you all, and bless his Church.

Yours wholy,
R. M.

Pettworth, Junij 13, [1625.]

"To the wll. my worthie and assur'd freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the R. Father in God, ye L. Bp. of Durham, att Durham house, be these."

XLVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 31.]

Sir,

You did intend when you wrote your last that it should have come unto my hands upon Fryday last, for you wish me in all hast to come upon Saturday or Sunday, which happely I had don, if your letter had come before Saturday att eight of clock att night: before which time I had sent away my horse to Pettworth for my wife; so that I have noe horse nor man to attend me, except I should com on foot and alone. I took phisick upon Monday and Tuesday last for the stone, of which at Pettworth, as I wrote, I had a sore fitt. Upon Thursday I came to Windsore, thincking to have found a letter from you there, but finding none, I thought good to take advantage, because I could not tell howe soone I should heare from you, to send for my wife. So that, as the case standeth, not with my defalt, I can not possibly come. Nor, to speake truth, do I see greate cause to be there, for it would but irritate them the more, and give them occasion to thinck I braved them. To petition the K[ing] or D[uke] is

* Hom. Il. A. 156.

not yet εὔκαιρον. For nothing is don, and, for prevention, that nothing should be, it is not, in my opinion, convenient. For it may be asked, wherein have they hurt you? perchance they meane it not. Happely they will have no leisure, and after all the promise was to protect and defend from measures offered, not thretned. Besides [the] time is wholy unfitt, both in respect of triumphs and serious businesses, especially if the K[ing's] departure thence be so sudden as you say, and we heare, who happely shall have him nerer att hand, if nede be. For my parte, I professe I thinck they rather shewe their malice and spleen what they would doe, then what they will or can doe. What have I offended against? Law? or Gospell? or Church? or what? Unlesse the Doctrine of the Church be interpreted against me, as it first must be, howe, or for what, can they rightly punish me? When that is, I will recant or hold my peace. And interpretation I meane by a Synode, which will not passe so easily as they imagine. You say well, it is the Churche's cause. I add, it is not my particular. For what am I? Happely I could soone make my peace. Nowe if Bishops will *prodere Ecclesiæ caussam*, lett them. You and I can answere it to God Almightie. We, I am sure, have lesse to loose then they have, by Puritans prevayling. I feare I shall live to see their rochetts pul'd over their eares. *Ego enim non petor. Ecclesia petitur:* which is *quod avertat Deus.* I may say with Solon, ὦ πατρὶς βεβοήθηκά σοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ.

I cannot but commend worthie Mr. Deane, yet no, if he would, can he quaile? Have we not his hand to each particular, which is more than approbation in grosse. I am of opinion, unlesse my Lord of Durham thinck otherwise, to whom I submitt my self, it is *tutissimum non comparere*, till somewhat be don or promoted in Parliament, or amongst the Bishops: and, for my part, as leife in P[arliament] as with them. For if he can prevayle that is *primus motor, primas habens*, I had rather fall into *laicam manum* then such charity *. My L[ord] of Winch[ester], I knowe, thincketh nothing of my not appearing. He is naturally *cunctator*, and I veryly beleive would do as I do himself, rather perish *non supplicando et fortiter gerendo quicquid evenerit*, then to seme to quaile by submission. The greate man you mention it may be said so. Did he or not, *non est tanti.* If he be as he was, a freind and fast, give him leave to say and

* Mountagu doubtless alludes to Archbishop Abbot, who invariably favoured the Puritan faction, and who, moreover, says Heylin, "*non amavit gentem nostram*, forsaking the birds of his own feather to flye with others; and generally favouring the Laity above the Clergie, in all cases which were brought before him."—Cyp. Angl. part i. p. 229.

pretend any thing. *Si quid mutavit,* as I knowe not whie or whether, (though I thinck not) do you thinck that *adeundo* I shall do any good? All are κλεψίνοοι. Greate ones are depths, and not foordable. My resolution is, *Quod scripsi, scripsi,* with an honest heart for God [and] his Church. Divells and darknes *frendant, fument, σὺν Θεῷ δ' εἰπεῖν, rem infectam nollem.*

The sicknesse enlargeth farre and sore. The terme is cutt of I heare, the Parleament this sevennight can scarce be settled to thincke of any thing, and how long do you suppose 'twill last*? It will be time enough to heare from you agayne, and in no case time to petitionate till something be don. I have no businesse, nor shall have that I do knowe to hinder me, unlesse the King come hether to us, as it is noised, very shortly. Your collections will serve for good purpose hereafter. I my self am making the like unto them. *Vale, et confortetur cor tuum in Domino.*

Tuus, R. M.

Junij 20, [1625.]

Having written this I fell into a fitt of the stone againe.

"To the wᵗˡ. my worthie freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyn in house to the Reverend father in God, the L. B. of Durham, att Durham house, this."

XLVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 27.]

Good Sir,

I must be short, for I am not able to hold out long. Since my last letter to you I have not gon forth of my chamber: when I shall, I knowe not. If the P[arliament] send for me, they must send a litter for him that can not goe nor ride, after a sore sicknesse, 6 glysters, a strong purgation that gave me 22 stooles.

It grieveth me you should thincke I any way disregard your greate care, paynes and sufferings *in communi caussâ,* or my self any way weary [or] unwillinge to suffer. Peradventure I did but send you my opinion, which I thought was convenient. I am most willing to do any thing my Lords of Durham and Winchester shall thincke fitt, only for my owne particular, theise

* Parliament was prorogued on the 11th July, 1625, on account of the plague, to the prevalence of which Mountagu refers in this letter; and met at Oxford on the 1st August following.

Puritan frensies and furyes move me not. *Video, taceo, rideo,* being willing enough to pay them att conveniency.

What hath Dr. Lindsell angred the Bedlem of Ex. in *? His pamphilett can not be pestilent. *Non afflabit.* The man was never better than a butter-queen [*quean*] to raile downe right ribaldry. I am glad Lindsell is brought upon the stage. I am weary and can hold my pen no longer. *Vale.*

Tuus, R. M. *manu ægrâ.*

Natali Joh. Bapt. [June 24, 1625.]

"To the right wll. my most worthy freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen,
att Durham house, this."

XLVIII.—From the Same to the Lord Bishop of Durham †.
[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 33.]

Right Reverend in Christ,

My humble service and duty premised. With much adoe I came home, God be thancked, though in payne, which hangeth on still

* By the "Bedlem of Ex.," Mountagu probably means his opponent Dr. Prideaux, who was Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. The way in which Prideaux animadverted upon him and his book, had no doubt greatly exasperated Mountagu. Turner, a Fellow of St. John's, had written on this subject to Laud not long before:—"We had Disputations in Divinity Schooles Wednesday: one Mr. Damport, a great preacher in London, but no graduate, was Respondent. One of his Questions, this: *An Renati possint totaliter et finaliter excidere à gratiâ?* His Opponent (one Mr. Palmer of Lincoln Colledge) urged, out of Mr. Mountagu his Appeale, the Article of our Church, the Homilies, the Booke of Common-prayer. The Doctor of the Chair [Dr. Prideaux] handled the Appellator (so they termed him) very coarsly: putting it upon him that he is *Merus Grammaticus;* a fellow that studies phrases more than matter: that he understands neither the Articles nor Homilies; or at least, perverts both. In answering one of the arguments he had a digression to this purpose. 'So,' quoth he, 'he attributes I know not what vertue to the externall signe of the Crosse, *Dignus cruce qui asserat.*' He concluded with an admonition to the Juniors whereof there come good store to that Exercise, and well furnished with table-bookes, and to the Seniors too; that they would be cautelous in reading that, or the like bookes: that they would begin in the study of Divinity with some systematicall catechisme (I suppose he meant Bastingius, Fenner, &c.) and not to apply themselves at first to the Fathers, &c. Thus with my daily prayers for your Lordship's health and happiness, I rest, &c. Thomas Turner.—St. John, Oxon. May 23, 1625."—Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 157. Mountagu little valued Bastingius, &c. Cf. *Appello Cæsarem,* p. 10.

Bedlam, in the sense of a *mad person,* is an expression which Shakspeare puts into the mouth of King John, when he addresses Constance, interrupting a speech which he does not like to hear, in no courtly language:

"*Bedlam,* have done." Act. II. sc. i.

For directing his attention to this use of the word, and for the suggestion that Prideaux might be referred to under the irreverent appellation of "the Bedlem of Ex.," the Editor is indebted to Archdeacon Churton.

What pamphlet Lindsell published, or how he was concerned in the matter, the Editor has been unable to discover.

† This, and a subsequent letter to the Bishop of Durham, refer so directly to the

upon me, so as I am not able to ride: in which regard I could not according to purpose attend your Lordship personally, but was forced to send. May it please your Lordship, if occasion serve, to let his Majesty understand howe I have ben proceded with all, upon a contempt against the House of Commons *, in that they referring it over to my Lord of Canterbury, he advising, not injoyning me, if ever my booke were printed again, to explicate those places that did offend; which I promised to do, and have don, as shall appeare if ever it be printed. Because it is not don, though his Grace never caled for it, herein is my contempt: though I have warrant enough, I thinck, not to have don it. For my late blessed Master bad me go to the Archbishop, if I would, but said he had taken it into his owne hands, and so much the Archbishop him self said to Dr. White. My Lord, the plott is strong against us, as I understand by good freinds and intelligence. If his Majesty can be taken of, and they have good hope to do it this vacation, then ex . . . . . shalbe shewed. Would you thincke there are alredy . . . . project for my parsonage of Pettworth and prebendship of Windsore, to share them? Dr. Lindsell, Mr. Cosin, and Dr. White, must come in also, but as yet things are not ripe. How unluckily doth it fall out your Lordship wilbe absent this vacation. My hope, next to God, must be in my Lord Duke, upon whom I will attend, so soon as I am in case; though I hope to see him here this weke, and as I conceive it my means must be to gett, if it be possible, any, the

subject of this correspondence with Cosin, that the Editor is tempted to give them a place amongst those which Mountagu addressed to his friend.

* On the 7th July, 1625, the Report concerning Mountagu's book was brought up to the House of Commons, and a petition from him was read. A resolution was passed "at this time only to give him a touch, that, under the name of Articles and Informers, Yates and Ward, he hath stricken this House." Mountagu was then called in, and received the judgment of the House for contempt, kneeling. On the 8th July the Serjeant stated that he had set Mountagu at liberty, on £2000 bail.—See Journals of the House of Commons (Charles I.) pp. 805, 807.

The following letter (State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. iv. 29) refers to this matter:—"This meeting [The Session of Parliament] hath continued but a while, and yet a greate deale of tyme hath bin spent in things that might have bin more seasonably questioned at an other tyme, as I have hard some of the howse say. Amongst other things a great deale of tyme hath bin spent about a booke made by Mr. Mountague, called *Appello Cæsarem*. He was committed to the custodie of the Serjeant, but with some seacrete directions that he should take bail of him to appeare the next session, as he hath done, but the King sent a message to the howse by Mr. Solicitor concerning him, to this effect, That he was his servant, and his chaplaine, and that therefore he expected that the proceedings in that buisines should be left to him. Mr. Solicitor, to whom the King spake in private concerning this buisines, told the King that for his part he had never observed (and thought the like of the rest of the howse) that Mr. Mountague was his Majestye's servant. But howsoever the answere of the howse is to the King that hee is not restrayned of his libertie though he goe under baile. * * * I humbly take leave, and rest, &c., Th. Locke.—9 July, 1625.—To Sir Dudley Carleton."

least, Bishopprique, to take me of from the Commons. Att present I heare the Bishop of Worcester is very sicke. *Si quid ei humanitus*, if my Lord of S. David's might succede, and I him, I should be half delivered. I besech your Lordship let Mr. Cosen burne all my letters. I have don so with his. The conspiracy, my good Lord, is stronge, but God is stronger, who blesse and prosper your Lordship in your goiing forth and returning home, nowe and for ever. I besech your Lordship to desire Mr. Cosen to send me the collection he hath made of like passages to myne, as also that Dr. White hath made, by my brother Scull, who will come downe upon Tuesday or Wensday.

Your Lordship's most bounden,

RI. MOUNTAGU.

Windsore, July 10, [1625.]

"To the right Reverend father in God, my singular good L. the Lord BP. of Durham, att Court, be this."

XLIX.—FROM THE SAME TO ARCHDEACON COSIN.

[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 55.]

GOOD IHON,

IT is not long since I was with you, yet since that time there came to my hands this inclosed, a Collection of Doctrines out of my booke, opposed, as you se by the Articles and Homilies. As they came, *per omnia* I transcribed them, and send them to you. You see howe I have stirred theise hornetts. *Pugnant*, as *pro aris et focis;* yet agayne they will to Parleament with this Information, better thewed * then the former. For there we were to take the gentlemen's words for Popery and Arminianisme. Here it is τί πρός. I am charged by a rule of Articles and Homilies: howe truly I have not examined, for I have not my bookes here. You will desire to knowe where or whence I had them. I answere, I can not tell the authors. I suppose it is Oxford draught by Dr. Prideux, etc., whereof I heard long since. This I can tell you. Dr. Featly can resolve you, both *unde, quomodo, qualia*, and *ad quid;* and peradventure Dr. Goade. You have all that I knowe. A secrett frend procured them for

* Nares in his Glossary explains *thewed* as educated, instructed in behaviour, and quotes from Spenser in illustration :—

"But he was wise, and weary of his will,
And ever held his hand upon his heart;
Yet would not seem so rude and *thewed* ill,
As to despise so courteous seeming part."

Spenser's Fairy Queen, II. vi. 26.

me. Remember my service unto my Lord of Duresme, when you acquaint him herewith, as I suppose you will. I could wish he would desire of my Lord Keper my Answere unto Ward and Yates, and peruse it, and acquaint his Majesty with it. My Lord Keper hath no leisure to peruse it, and will lett him have it, I doubt not. Against the Parleament I do purpose to have my answere redy to theise, if, as it is thretned, they exhibit this against me. Att your leisure help me with some quotations out of B[ishop] Morton's works, Dr. Hall's *Clerum*, which I have not read, Dr. Usher's, or such men as are feisable with them, and yet joyne in those things which I affirme. Some I have observed ar out of my Lord of Winchester. What I should do *in his* I must desire advise from my Lord of Durham, *qui instar omnium*, for *quærunt sua*, not *Ecclesiæ*. *Vale raptim.*

Your assured,
Ri. Mountagu.

Octob. 14, [1625.]

"To the wll. my worthe and esteemed freind Mr. Ihon Cosin, att Duresme house, be this."

L.—Mr. Claphamson of York to the Same.

Worshipfull,

My humble duty premised, I do willingly acknowledge what your Worship hath imparted to me in particuler concerning the exercyse of the place whereunto it hath pleased his devyne Essence to call you, and it yelds comfort to me being an old inferiour Officer, tho' unworthy, and ever desirous of Reformacion, who have been much troubled with the perverse condicions of the layty in these latter dayes, and I may well say in these profane tymes, and also of some of the Clergy. I gather by your letter that your Worship is experienced in the exercyse of such jurisdictions in other places, and do well observe what is remarkable therin. And therin no doubt yow may easily see neglects enoughe, the fruits of this last declyning age. It becomes not me to wryte any thinge in excuse of myself. And yet (*patientiâ vestrâ*) geve me leave to make so bold with yow, as to impart unto yow the sincere and honest cariage of your Officiall in that place, for if I should be silent I presume others would make it knowne unto yow. As few complaynts have bene justely made within this circuite eyther to the ecclesiasticall or temporall magistrate, (and yow know we ar subordinat under his Grace,) as within any other circuite within his dioces, for any neglect in

the officers, and my desyre is, and shal be, that it may so continew without eyther fraude or guyle, from which I ever desyred to be freed. I make no doubte but your Worship shall fynd men in this circuite diversly mynded, and of severall constitucions, and your phrase of moderate severity putts me in mynd what I have redd, how that it is the part of a good phisicion not to purge raw humors, but such as are matured and concocted, except they be stirred and moved with ther owne violence. The layty of your Archdeaconry, in most places, be simple men and of meaner capacity, and experience hath taught me in processe of tyme (wherin I have bene conversant amongst them) that many of them be so dull and incapable, I will not say deafe, that if the charmer charme never so wysely they will not heare him. Others we have that be of more acute ingenuity and people of better understanding, and yet these now and then (charity being sett asyde) will *nodum in scirpo quærere*. And if any breath of unkyndenes be amongst them, then the Magistrate shall heare of all, tho never so triviall, who coming to weigh the cause in equall ballance shall find it so. Another sort you shall fynd which is a meane betwixt these extreames, for the disposition of the Clergy it were too much boldness in me to expresse, save in some enormous vices.

I humbly acknawledg your kyndnes towards me; for your good opinion of me, haveing had so litle notice of me, I shall ever wishe that my good endevours may ever justely challeng such respect at your hands. Your sentence owt of the prophet Jeremy hath bene and shalbe a good directory for me.

Our ordinary Visitacion time is in Easter week, except yow please to geve direction to the contrary, and your Procurations are due *visitanti*. I have sent you a booke of Articles such as the Archdeacons have used to minister in their visitations within this dioces. You may add, or diminish from them what yow please, but they are to be considered on in tyme, that we may have tyme to get them prynted after your emendation. I have also sent a book of the benefices and cures within and of your Archdeaconry, together with the Incumbents and Ministers therin beneficed, I have made certeyne breefe marginall notes, but no so fully as I would, which want I shall supply at our next meeting (God being pleased). I have lykewyse sent you a book of your Procurations * and Sinodalls †, as I fynd them in old records, and therin some notes of observance.

* Procurations are certain sums of money which parish priests pay yearly to the Bishop or Archdeacon, *ratione visitationis*. They were anciently paid in necessary victuals for the Visitor and his attendants, but afterwards turned into money.

† A tribute or payment in money made to the Bishop or Archdeacon by the inferior clergy at Easter visitation.

Well may your Worship terme these tymes of neglect, for even in the Clergy I fynd great defect in the performance of reall duties; and I am not alone in this: others suffer as well, and cannot amend it, and if a man use lawfull meanes to compell them to do what they ought, then do they exclame and rayle as if they had injustice done: these be the tymes that a man may well say, *O tempora! O mores!*

For the proffitts for this yere currant, 1625, I have accompted for the great part thereof to your predecessor * when he was at Bushopthorp; for the rest as much as lyes in my power I will endevour my self by all good meanes to get, but I would be certefy'd from him whether he expects the latter end of this yere's profitt or no: my reason is because the Procurations yet unpaid I must demand in his name, for they are due *visitanti.*

Divers of the Impropriacions in this circuite are in men's hands who dwell in the sowtherne parts, and others in these parts, which do not pay the Procuracions and Sinodalls but by constraynt, and sometymes as chargeable as the debt. Others ther be that deny payment out of their wilfull mind, not caring what trouble or charge they putt one too. At the King's Awditts, now at York, we ar to receave some Procuracions, extending to the summe of v^{li}. xij^{s}. vj^{d}., and the charges one way and other will stand to ix^{s}. iiij^{d}. Besydes, your Worship parts † a pencion owt of Howden shier of liij^{s}. 4^{d}. per annum, and it costs me every yere in receaving it here vj^{s}. viij^{d}., and so hath done longe.

For armour, tho' in extremity, yow need not shew any, yet I would not have the Capteyne to thinke much for want of a small fee as others do; for I gesse that yow and the prebendary of Wistow ‡ must fynd a light horse betwixt you, howsoever my care shalbe to keepe yow without blame. Yow have in rent for the Rectory of Mapleton §, annexed to your Archdeaconry, of xxij^{li}. per annum, payable at Lammas and Candlemes, or within certeyne dayes. I remember Lamas last is payd to Mr. Blakistone, and therfore I pray send me word for the receipt of the next. Your tenthes for the Archdeaconry due at Christenemes I

* Marmaduke Blakiston, father-in-law to Cosin, in favour of whom he resigned the archdeaconry. He was also prebendary of Wistow in York Cathedral.—Hutchinson's Durham, ii. p. 196.

† *i. e.* has a share in.

‡ See the foregoing note. "The Council, by their letters to the Lord-lieutenants of the counties upon the sea coasts, required that the trained bands be in readiness with complete armour and other furniture, to march upon all alarms to what place soever the necessary defence thereof shall require."—Rushworth, i. p. 196.

§ In 1230 this rectory was appropriated to the archdeaconry of the East Riding by Walter Gray, Archbishop of York.—Burton's Monast. Ebor. p. 290.

shall take care for, and when yow compownd for your first fruits yow must send the *composuit* hither to be entered by the receaver here, to free yow from payment of subsidies for your Archdeaconry.

We have receaved letters from his Grace* to disperse certayne breefes for a collection for the distressed citizens of London†, which hath bene so troublesome to do, as they require both labour and charge to get them duly executed.

I hope my not wryting ere this you will pardon. I have been somewhat prolixe, and yet have but geven a taste of these affaires for some particulers. What rests on my behalf to performe, I hope by God's assistance and your patiens shall not be awanting, and my earnest desyre is that you would be pleased [to retain] your good opinion of me, till justely I shall deserve the contrary. And therin yow shall truly add fervency to my industrie. And so I humbly take leave.

Your Worship's in all duty to be comaunded,

Ro. Claphamson.

York, this xvijth of October, 1625.

"To the right worfull. Mr. Cosin, Batcheler of Devinity, Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of the Eastriddinge, at Bushope Awkelande, geve these."

Indorsed by Cosin :—"Mr. Claphamson's letter to me, about my Jurisdiction in my Archdeaconry of East-riding."

LI.—From Richard Mountague to the Bishop of Durham. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 60.]

Right Reverend, my humble duty premised,

I understand that his Majesty, having ben made acquainted by your Lordship with that Apologie which I wrote against my Parleamentary Informers, intendeth to have it printed, and to that end gave order that Dr. White should looke it over and informe what, and howe 'twas *contrà*, or not *secundum*, the authorised doctrine of the Church of England. I must confesse I was desirous enough to have it published, but did not expect so much when I sent it, but only with desire that his Majesty

* Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York.

† London and Westminster had suffered much from the ravages of the plague at this time. "About the end of July, 1625, there died of the plague in London within one week 9000 persons; and great mortality continued there, and in many places of the country, a long time after."—Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq. (pub. by Camden Soc.) p. 86. See also Rushworth, i. p. 155; Echard, ii. pp. 13, 21; Kennett, iii. p. 4; Peck's Desid. Cur. II. xii. p. 15.

might understand of it as much as your Lordship should thinck convenient, and therefore I putt in diverse particulars touching those men ther specially named, as also the last Articles, which, the truth is, I had from La[mbeth] house by a freind that I would not willingly discover. My only intent was that if your Lordship pleased you might give his Majesty information of them, and so *transirent*. But since it is, I understand by Mr. Cosin, his Majesty's pleasure to have them printed, if it please your Lordship my desire is to have them left out, as being not apperteynant to the mayne, unlesse your Lordship shall thincke otherwise, to whom I wholy and totally referre my self and the whole. Mr. Cosen wrote unto me that your Lordship was desirous I should come over and conferr my notes with Dr. White's, and so both go to the King together. I besech you, my Lord, consider the season, both in generall, of the yeere, and this time so unfitt to travell in, I am sure with us, out of this country, which your Lordship knoweth very well, especially for my body, very crasie, and but untoward to travell in winter. I protest before God, my good Lord, I would not willingly nowe travell for a good preferment, being like enough to gett that which I shall not in hast gett of agayne. These 5 last winters by such journyes, I gott those coulds that hung by me, some of them, 4 months. Good my Lord, therfore, I besech you spare me and excuse me, that I may in helth do the Church and you service long. I suppose also his Majesty will have no greate leisure as yett at London to attend this petty businesse, nor do I conceive any such cause of hastning it to the presse. It is not much, and will soone be dispatched whensoever. Beside, I would gladly see what Dr. White sayth, and advise upon his notes, being att my owne notes and amongst my owne books, which I can not so well do being from them. My humble desire, therefore, is, that your Lordship would be pleased to excuse my attendance, and to will Mr. Cosen to send me the copy, with his observations, which may be don by our carier, as he knoweth, as safe as by any messenger of purpose. So my humble duty allway remembred, with hearty and daily prayer for your Lordship, the only true and reall frend the Church hath of your ranck, I take my leave, and rest,

Att your Lordship's service,
RI. MOUNTAGU.

Pettworth,
S. Stephen's day, [1625.]

"To the right Reverend father in God, my very good Lord, the Lord Bishopp of Duresme, these."

LII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 42.]

Sir,

Since my returne I have ben sorely trobled with the stone, and am not free, though I have fewer by 4 greate ones then I had when I was with you. I pray lett me knowe, if you can, when the choyce for clerks will be in London diocese, and whether you thincke it not fitt that I write unto my Lord of London to putt him in mind of his promise to me, and lett him understand what my Lord Marshall * wrote unto me concerning his redines and willingnesse in my business; and that my Lord Duke will give him thanks because I told him of his promise unto me. If you will I will lett him knowe of this the next returne, and inclose my letter to you.

I am wholy busied in setting downe (you knowe for whom I told you) ours and the Calvinists' doctrine of Predestination. I can not write long, for my paine is not gon. God kepe you and us all.

Your assured

R. M.

Jan. 19, [1625-6.]

"To the right wll. my most assured frend, Mr. Ihon Cosen, att Durham house, this."

LIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 35.]

It is true, I have angred the whole tribe, *Dulychij, Samijque et quos tulit alta Zacynthus. Turba ruunt in me.* And is there none to oppose or interpose? I could, I can, I do not say I will, *prodere caussam*, as well as those that are more interested in the Church's cause then I am. Were I disposed, in just revenge and indignation, I could say that against the Prelacy now secure, nay laughing *in alienis malis*, that should make the Puritans *tantum non* adore me. But *licet illi digni, ego indignus: παρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.* God and an honest cause will defend me, yet I do not doubt that my Master will faile me, or breake his word. I wonder what exception can be taken att the doctrine that was all allowed by so eminent a man. Scarce a particular but avouched by Bishop Morton, though perhaps

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, created Earl Marshall in 1621.

against his will and intention; and what not justified by the Church? I suppose prejudicate opinion transporteth the most without knowledge, as it doth the laweyers of Lincoln's Inn. A counsellor of that house was reading my booke, and in my defence had like to have fallen foule of some of them. In conclusion one borowed it of him, and, having read it, had nothing to say but I was to bitter with them. It is well, if it be putt to him to reade, to speake up, though he be σκηπτικὸς and nothing forward to do that he should; yet can he for shame condemne that which *animitùs* he professeth? Howsoever I pray only for discretion and courage, for rather then I will bely the truth, I hope I shalbe content to be Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, teach Abecedarian childre for my livinge. If I be convented I will not refuse to recant if any B[ishop] but Bangor * in the province of Canterbury will under his hand subscribe, that I have delivered doctrine against the Church of England. In breife it is malice and puritanicall zeale that nestleth. Lett God worke his will, I am not dismayde. I will expect at Windsore what they will doe, and not come up till I am sent for. I will not yet intimate any thing to my Lord Keeper, but gett Dr. Price † to aske him, as from him self, what the King saith. Lett me heare from you as sone and often as you can. *Vale.*

When Mr. Cruso cometh, which wilbe time enough next weke, if I be at liberty I will go with him to Pettworth.

(No Date: without signature, and address torn off.)

LIV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 18.]

Sir,

I have sent you this inclosed, formerly forgotten, as my promise was. The other parte was to longe, this is shorte enough, if

* It is no wonder that Mountagu excepted the Bishop of Bangor (albeit he was author of *The Practice of Piety*), if the following account of him be true:—"I saw a letter from a Parliament man; the sum whereof was this:—'London, April 20th.—On Monday the complaints against the Bishop of Bangor for simony, incontinency, licensing of incestuous marriages, bribery, extortion, were produced, and incontinency the most palpably proved that ever I heard.'"—Letter of Jos. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. Ap. 22, 1626.—Court and Times of Charles I. i. p. 96.

Lewis Bayly, the subject of these accusations, had been eminent as a preacher, and became chaplain to James I., by whom he was nominated to the Bishopric of Bangor in 1616. His *Practice of Piety* was printed about forty times in 8vo. and 12mo. The eleventh edition was printed at London in 1619.

† Dr. Theodore Price. See *antè*, p. 24, *note*.

sweet enough; but take the best and leave the worst. I came home, I thancke God, with greater ease than I expected, having clered my self by the way, through rogging of the coatch, of 2 stones, and one att London; the least as bigg as a pease. You will say this is nothing. I feele it some thing yet, being weake and stomacklesse. One petitioner for the D[eanery] of Windsore is yett att London. He will bring the promise of it unlesse you putt a rubb on his back. *Turpe est et mansisse diu, vacuumque redisse.*

Mr. Melven* hath in my Lord Overall's booke a determination of his with this title, *Fidelis et potest, et debet, esse certus de salute sud.* I pray gett it me transcribed, or send me the booke, which I will, *σὺν Θεῷ*, safely returne.

In faith I can not hold out to write longe, thinck you of my desease as you please. God kepe you, us all, but especially his Church.

Your assured
R. Mountagu.

Windsore, Jan. 29, [1625-6.]

"To the wll. my right worthy freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of York, att Durham house, be this."

LV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 10.]

Sir, I dare not yet adventure to come up, my purging and stone payne hath made me feeble. I am not able long to walke up and downe, ther lyeth yet in my loyns such a payne, beside, att present I have no meanes to come, the sickness growing very dangerous in Windsore, insomuch as that we have dismissed sermons and locked up our gates. I was fayne to send yesterday

* This is, no doubt, Andrew Melvin, or Melville, Rector of St. Andrew's, the follower and successor of John Knox, whose life has been written by Dr. M'Crie. It did not appear quite obvious whether the "determination," to which Mountagu wished to refer, was Overall's or Melville's. By the courtesy of David Laing, Esq., Librarian to the Library of the Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh, a friend of the Editor has been permitted to examine some transcribed MSS. of Melville's correspondence preserved in that Library. But no allusion could be found to the work in question, which is not mentioned by M'Crie, and does not appear in the publications of the Wodrow Society. Subsequent research has however discovered that the "determination" was one of Overall's, which is in existence amongst the Harleian MSS. (3142, fol. 30. b.), under the following title:—"Quæstiones propositæ à D. Io. Over[allo] in publicis comitiis quando Theologiæ Dr. effectus est. (1.) Solâ imputatione obedientiæ Christi per fidem, peccatores justificantur ad salutem. (2.) Fidelis ex fide certus esse remissionis suorum peccatorum et potest et debet." Cf. the sixth Lambeth Article.

my people to Pettworth, only my self and my wife with a maid remaining behind; and come by water, which is the only way, I dare not, least I gett that which I can not cleare of. Beside, were I with you, I would not come att the Parleament, for it is to no purpose ther, and best to give me over to the Lords, which is the utmost they can doe. I hope to have fayre audience there, being generous and understanding men. Their course intended and accusations to be presented, att least most of them, I knewe longe since. Three weeks agoe, one of the Committee wrote unto me* "that their chiefest labours were to prove that I sett sedition betwixt the King and his people, and betwixt subject and subject, that I indeavoured reconciliation betwixt us and the Church of Rome, and that I am reconciled to the Church of Rome†, that I have abused the late King, used great profanenes

* Mountagu, it would appear, had a friend on the Committee. The information which he received from him proved afterwards to have been very accurate. "On the 18th of Aprill, 1626, Mr. Pym made a Report in the Commons' House from the Committee of Religion concerning Mountague's Appeale, and his Arminian and Popish tenents therein comprised; whereupon it was voted in the House:—1. That he had disturbed the peace of the Church by publishing Doctrine contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and the Book of Homilies. 2. That there are divers passages in his Booke (especially against those hee termeth Puritans,) apt to move sedition betwixt the King and his subjects, and between subject and subject. 3. That the whole frame and scope of his Booke is to discourage the well affected in religion from the true Religion established in the Church, and to incline them, and, as much as in him lay, *to reconcile them to Popery*."—Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 158. See also Heylin's Cyp. Angl. part i. p. 148.

When Mountagu wrote the Letter in the text, he was at Windsor, and tidings of the vote of the House had evidently not reached him.

† For this accusation there appears to have been no foundation, though it is probable that Mountagu may have entertained the idea that a reconciliation between the Churches of Rome and England was not a project altogether impracticable. There are indications of such a feeling in more than one passage both of the *Answer to the Gagger* and the *Appello Cæsarem*. Indeed, if Panzani's account is to be trusted, it would appear that, at a later period of his life, he made some definite propositions to that ecclesiastic on the subject of the re-union of the two Churches. Some remarkable statements are made by Panzani of what took place at certain interviews between him and Mountagu, then Bishop of Chichester. See Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, by Rev. Jos. Berington. Birmingham: 8vo. 1793, pp. 237, 241, 246. That a conference took place is credible enough; but there are particulars in Panzani's account which it is almost impossible to believe, and one can scarcely avoid coming to the conclusion that there must have been some misunderstanding, on his part, of Mountagu's meaning. With an Italian, this might easily happen, without any intention of misrepresenting what took place. Mountagu's writings indicate throughout so much straightforwardness of character, and such genuine and hearty attachment to the Church of England, that it is all but incredible that he should, at any period of his life, have proved disloyal and untrue to the Church of his baptism. And it is abundantly clear that he was strongly opposed to the exclusive nature of the claims of the Church of Rome. Cf. the characteristic letter he writes to the Duke of Buckingham (APPENDIX, No. I.). It is worthy of note that Charles Butler, in his "Memoirs of English Catholics," written twenty or thirty years after Berington's publication, though he gives a full historical account of Panzani's mission, says nothing of any treaty with the English Clergy. (Vol. ii. p. 330, *et seqq.*) And the Rev. Charles

in writing, slighted and disgraced the best lights in the Reformed Church," and such like. All which, by most necessary conclusions and inferences, and some of them in expresse termes, will fall upon me out of my owne books. As for my pardon, it will not availe me, as the course is taken. For they meane to goe to the busines by an Act of Parliament which will avoid the pardon; "especially seing now the Duke's Grace hath by his freinds disavowed you and your books and doctrine in open Parlement on Friday last." (This was written March 27.) "And the pardon extendeth but to offences particularly named against the King, and this is supposed to be against Church and Common-welth. For the privilege (of Convocation) they intend not to infring it, but when all things be redy, you shall have notice, and you may come if you will. But come or come not, they will procede at the last to condemning of your books." Thus much out of my frend's letter, whom I must conceale, and therefore burne this letter, or kepe it close; by which you see their resolution, and that it is to no purpose to say any thing for my self or cause unto them. My only desire to be with you, if possibly I could, is to knowe what you must not or dare not write, for I misbode some greate matter. But I hope you will gett it downe to me nowe. I sent my man on purpose. You may trust him with a letter and me to burne it afterward. I confesse I mervale the Parliament holdeth so longe, and that they thus daudle out the King with doing nothing.

Att the very beginning of the next weeke I purpose, God willing to be with you. For I suppose before, the L[ords] will take no greate notice, and I knowe most, alway, that is objected. But, above all, I never yet repented to referre the ordering and directing of all businesse to God, who knoweth more and seeth farther then we can.

I have not yet heard or seen any of their messengers. If he come, I meane to give him that answere you advise, and I was resolved; to which you see my frend also did direct me, who would fayne persuade me they procede without all passion in this busines. The old woman that kept my Lord of Gloucester's * house is dead of the plague, but not in his house nor nere it, nor hath she been there a good time. There are twenty persons in our pest house, beside 6 or 7 houses infected. God help us

Plowden, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who published "Remarks on Panzani's Memoirs" (Liege, 1794), speaks very slightingly of the account given of the conferences between Panzani and the Bishop of Chichester.

It is not unlikely that the primary object of the conferences was to arrange some terms by which the cruel laws then in force against the Roman Catholics might be mitigated. Cf. Dodd's Church Hist. iii. p. 76, *c.* 1.

* Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who was also one of the Canons of Windsor.

and rid us out of our trobles. I besech you write your minde, and longe, and if it be very expedient that I come up, come life, come death, I will be with you. Referring all unto God who . . . . . *Vale.*

Your assured
R. M.

Aprill 20, [1626.]

"To the wll. my most assured and worthie freind. Mr. Jhon Cosen, Chapla . . . the Lo. BP. of Durhã, this at Durhã hou . . ."

LVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 34.]

Mary, God's good Providence was indede notable, that the good Lord Keeper was *in præcinctu,* when he that should have ben better occupied was so ill employed. I hope by the lees his Majesty would guesse what the wine was. *Εὐαγγελία* indeed from our Gamaliel. Now, if ever, hath he just occasion to putt home, *καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι,* that the Church may have cause to thanck him, and say, *ἰδοὺ Ἰσραηλίτης ἀληθῶς.* I hope he will. I am sure he should, and as he saith wel, if I have written Pop[ery] himself hath. But *manum super os: omni Harpocrate magis ἐχέμυθος* till I heare farther from you, as I hope to do shortly. Remember my service to your Lord. If he thinck fitt that I doe come up, tell him I will be ruled by him, though if God and the King favour us never so little, if I should appere above, they would say I came to brave and to out face them. Malice is mischeivouse and inventive, therefore I thinck better to *latere,* unlesse I must come. I wrote this morning to my Lord of Northumberland that I had sent to Dr. Lindsell, and that the party would shortly be with me. I thinck you shall finde me and my wife at Windsore next weeke. *Excurre,* for a day or two, especially my Lord attending the King, as I suppose he will. You have indeed much revived me; not so much for my self, for *σὺν Θεῷ δ' εἰπεῖν,* I am willing to suffer more for the Church, as for the common good. I hope our *ἐπισκοπεύοντες* will *accingere lumbos stare in præcinctu,* and putt on for *Deo, rege, lege, grege.* If not, it is enough, we have not betrayed it.

I have received my papers you sent, but seing his Grace is as he is, the King shall command me, before he getteth any reveiwe of me. I thanck you for your Arminius. I never sawe him before. The man had more in him then all the Netherlands.

This is their mayne stath * against me I perceive, and upon this, because they make it *basin Christianismi*, they sett up ther rest, and therefore I shall a little study the point. I pray lerne that New-college man's name, though I would it had not ben, for it wilbe the occasion of a newe accusation against me that I make a schisme and have factions in the Church. I am glad, and I merveyle, that Mr. Deane of Winchester is to be taken. I pray had S^r. James Fullerton one. If . . . . lett Matt Wren † enquire what he thincketh. He was my private freind, unlesse a publick party avert him. Ther is in him *μεγάλη ῥόπη*. I would not willingly loose him. Also I left with Mr. Day of the Chappell one for my Lord of Arundell ‡. If you can, lerne if he had it. Howe do they sell? are they like to be printed agayne? If I had 100 I thinck I could give them, so many do aske me, but I deny all. You see I write *ἀμεθοδεύτως ut quicquid in buccam.* Pray write *toties quoties*, and if you can lett us see you.

Your loving frend ever,

R. Mountagu.

Maij 19, [1626.]

"To the w^ll. my very worthie freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Chaplyne in house to the Reverend L. Bp. of Durham, att Durham house be this."

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* *Stath* or *Staith*, is a word commonly used in the north of England to signify a frame of timber, erected against a river bank, to serve the purpose of a wharf, or landing-place, for the delivery or shipment of coal, or any other cargo. Mountagu employs it in the sense of a *support*, or *stay*. De la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary, who died in 1704, uses the word in the same sense: "I told them their haven would never do, unless that they made a huge *stath* at y^e. aforesayd cliff to keep it from wearing away, &c." — MS. Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, F.S.A. (now in course of publication by the Surtees Sooiety).

† Dr. Matthew Wren, who afterwards became Bishop of Ely. In 1621 he became Chaplain to Prince Charles, whom he attended in that capacity on his expedition to Spain in 1623. In 1625 he was appointed Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge, and in 1628 was promoted to the Deanery of Windsor. After having successively occupied the sees of Hereford and Norwich, he was translated in 1638 to the bishopric of Ely. In 1641 articles of impeachment were brought against him, and the result was, that he was committed to the Tower, where he remained in confinement for the long period of eighteen years. On the Restoration he was of course liberated, and resumed the administration of his bishopric. He was a man of eminent learning, and deeply versed in the ancient liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches. He died at Ely House, April 24, 1667, in his 82^d. year, and was buried in the Chapel of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.—Cf. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. p. 21, also Athenæ Oxon.

‡ Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who was restored in blood to all the titles of honour and precedence which had been forfeited by the attainder of his father Philip, Earl of Arundel. He was made Earl Marshal of England in 1621. In 1645 he was created Earl of Norfolk. His name is well known as the collector of the celebrated gallery of statues, known as the Arundel Marbles. He died at Padua, Oct. 4, 1646.

LVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 28.]

Sir,

I thanck you hartily for your letter and those εὐαγγελία which I desire to heare at full, for all my Lord. When your sermon is past come over; my brother Scull saide you would, with him, if I stayed till Wensday. I will stay so long *eâ lege*. *Bene sit* to our Gamaliel. Hath he saide so to Dr. Lindsell, and will he demurre? *Si sic*, I fall out with him for ever. I joyne! nay I will be principall, rather than faile *sub eâ lege*. *Accingat se actutum operi*, and so will I, if there be no more in it. Who knoweth what God may worke where no indirect ends are upon the ly. It must be taken while this iron is hott. Perchance σκῆψις, or putting of may dash all. Austen must in no case so much as consider. God's blessing of thy constancy. So must he *fide et constantiâ*.

I have noted allredy infinite barbarismes *et conjicientur ὑφ' ἕν, sub aspectum*. I beleive Mr. Googe * wilbe more discreet then to play the foole to serve turns, especially against his old schole-fellowe and acquaintance, but *salvâ Ecclesiæ pace*, none of them shall carry it scott free to heaven or hell. *Vale et ad vota* if you can.

Tuissimus,

R. Mountagu.

Windsore, Maij 28, [1626.]

(Address torn off.)

LVIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 15.]

Good Ihon,

I hartely thancke you for your letters, though what should I say? His Majesty will defend, and they will oppugne. Let them, so he do: or let him leave them and me to our pens. I can not come if I would. This day I ended the fift fitt of a tertian ague, which maketh me so short. Remember my love to Mr. Selden, and tell him were I in case I would have written

* Probably Willlam Gouge, Minister of Blackfriars' Church, London, one of the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He was a man of Puritanical views, but of great piety. He published The Complete Armour of God, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. He died Dec. 12, 1653.

to him. He did ingenuously and like himself, but disire him to putt that confidence in me that I willingly would make him arbitrator, and as they have informed agaynst me by libell, so desire him to gett me a copy thereof, that I may answere by libell. Though if it be as you write, that I am by them [accused] of sedition*, it is capitall, and I must not beare it. For the rest, *rideo*.

I understood before of Austen's good case. After his danger it was the first question I asked Sir Ihon Leeds at his returne to Pettworth. God be blessed for his helth. Remember my love to him, and tell him God hath not don this for nothing, but to have him putt to his hand, and stand with us in the gap against thoise domesticke enimyes the Puritan faction, in my opinion as daungerous to Church and Monarchie as the nowe banished. But God's will be don. I repent me not to have offended them, and stirred the hornetts' neast. I hope my reward wilbe elsewhere for it. *Vale*, for I can not stand long.

Your assured
R. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
Whitmonday, [1626.]

"To the wrll. my assured freind, Mr. Ihon Cosin, Chapleyne in house to the Reverend Father in God, the L: Bishop of Durham, att Durham house, be these."

LIX.—Mr. Claphamson to the Same.

Worshipfull,

I hope ere this my letters sent to your Worship with some . . . . is comed to your hands, sence which tyme I have . . . . of the Dean and Chapter of York to make . . . . search emongst his records for Mapleton, and . . . . this one lease granted before Bushop Maye's† tyme to one . . . . Rectory of Mapleton which herinclosed I do send . . . . in arreare. I must be forced to sue divers of th . . . . Archdeaconry. I know not the cause but these dueties . . . . these troublesome tymes, that I much mervell at it . . . . is begone agayne in Scarbrough and three or fower . . . . in your Jurisdiction besydes the people which dwell upon the Se . . . . bene so terrified and putt to extraordinary charges

* Stirring up sedition was one of the charges brought against Mountagu by the House of Commons. See *antè*, p. 88, *note*.

† William May, Dean of St. Paul's, was elected to this see, but died Aug. 12, 1560, before he obtained consecration.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 311.

for ther . . . . that it hath made silver scant in these parts amongst the poore sort [of] the Clergy. As I writt before I cannot assertayne yow what the worth of Mapleton now is to the tenant in possession. When I did receave the rent, to Mr. Blakistone I have heard him complayne of his rent being too great, all things duely considered. We have had in the last corrections some poore Ministers complayned upon for making clandestine mariages, and your Officiall hath proceeded agaynst some of them to suspencion, the parties of all hands are so poore and needy that he cannot tell what to do more. They be poor Curates and have little, and being suspended the cure is endangered to be altogether neglected in the interim, and how this is to be the best provyded for, is his care. These be Impropriacions, and the owners dwell far remot in the sotherne parts.

Another great falt there is among these Impropriacions, especially in those which are granted from the Crowne, the Chancells of the Churches have beene long in decay, and presented before his Grace of York, and in your Jurisdiction. The parties, being called, show ther grants from his Majestie that they are not charged. It falls out that in some of these, there is vj or vij owners, and dwelling all in severall jurisdictions, how these ar to be remedied I cannot well tell. Our Chancellour hath bene sequestring the fruits of some of them, but I see no reformacion. *Salvâ Reverentiâ vestrâ*, me think it were good if, at the granting of the leases from the Crowne, they should be tied to these reparacions *nominatim*, and it were a happy thing if any amendment could now be gott. I thought it good to acquaynt you with these occasions, leaving them to your good discretion to be thought upon. My humble service remembred I humbly tak leave.

Your Worship's to be commanded,

R. Claphamson.

York, this xvijth of June, 1626.

"To the wor^{full} Mr. John Cosin, Archdeacon of the Eastridding, and Chapleyne to the Right Reverend Father in God, the L. Bushope of Durham, at Durham Howse, London, geve these."

LX.—From Richard Mountagu to the Same.

[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 46.]

Sir,

For the alteration you speake of, *miror, stupeo, et pertimesco*, least I be not only not preferred, *parum est enim*, but be abandoned.

For else, whie was the Proclamation so caried? Whie are not the opponent writers questioned? Whie write they still, as I heare, even since the Proclamation*, *impunè?* and I must hold my peace, sitt downe, possesse my soull in patienee, in whom the Chureh and K. James [*sic, sed Charles?*] are interessed. Reasons of state are great and depe, καὶ τίς πρὸς ταῦτα, but though not foordable, yet I wonder the disposition of some men is either not discovered or to much . . . . . who will not be won, but are uncompliable and intractable. I gave way. What should I, could I doe? . . . . . the originall was. The eurrent would go that way, I might perceive. I had ben a foole to have gone on ἄνω ποταμῶν, but to seme to be content with what would be. Soe I hope Mr. Porter† understandeth so much, or by your means he shall

Unto him the Church and myself owe more than I can expresse; *fecit ut vivam et moriar ingratus*, not in will and obligation, but ability: and for his busnesse I nor doo, nor will be wanting, carelesse or slacke, but it must eome from the Duke, who is first to take notiee what hath ben done, and by a private letter and word of mouth, (when the King cometh to Windsore) unto the Deane, take notice of it, and request a transferring of it to Mr. Porter. If I should first move it, happely it might miseary, at least passe the harder, for, you knowe, the opinion they have had of my frends and reputation above hath [not] held them upon terms of any correspondency with me. For, being most Calvinists, they must, and do, *animitus*, not like me; and nowe that the Proclamation [is] held to be against me, and the disrespect I have every way, maketh me, as I wrote to my Lord of S. David's, as a long time *fabula vulgi*, so *opprobrium Puritanorum*. Therefore advise seriously if I say not true, and direet you the better course. It wilbe very feisable that way, any other not so manageable. But, if you will have it otherwise, I will not be wanting. You will remember me to that noble gentleman. I ean but pray for him. So, I hope, will and doe all good men. For God's sake lett him no way by opposition drawe only upon

* A Royal Proclamation was issued on the 14th June, 1626, directed against the "publishing or maintaining any new inventions or opinions concerning Religion than such as are clearly grounded and warranted by the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England." It was really levelled against those who had written in opposition to Mountagu's books.—Cf. Heylin's Cyp. Angl. part i. p. 147.

† Endymion Porter, who accompanied Charles I., when Prince of Wales, on the journey to Spain, and was afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber after Charles' accession to the throne. During the civil war he was extremely active in secret services for the King, and so obnoxious to the Parliament on that account, that he was one of those always excepted from indemnity, and his friends were compelled to pay £1500 composition for him. He attended Charles II. in his exile, but died before the Restoration.—Cf. Athenæ Oxon. iii. p. 2.

himself: though it be *cordolium, omne malum omen Ecclesiæ,* that the Professor * should *Episcopari.* Yet seeing what shalbe, shalbe, lett him reserve himself for better times and service. I am not *tanti* that for my sake *Ecclesia* should *detrimentum capere,* and as you knowe my minde for my owne particular, I had rather be D[ean] of Paul's or Westminster then a Bishop. My Lord of S. David's, I warrant you, was moved to doe what he did, *et vereor ne quid Andria apportet mali.*

You merveile I talke of a Parleament. It is hott newes at Windsore and Pettworth *quod sic,* that there is an error in the Commission, and so it shalbe held together, that the Lord Digby hath his counsell allowed him to come to him . . . . . my pore self, his G[race†] or both, must be sacrificed. As God will, and is it time, thinke you, to thinke of Bishops? Prideux would not be so bold, or confident, but somewhat there is in it.

You are for the north: the more sory man I, left alone in the south, to abide *æstum diei.* Before you goe I can not send your books, but you shall have them safe *si quid mihi humanitus.* For I will clear my innocency and cease from delays . . . . . and if I can not print it, leave it to posterity for a monument.

For my month of wayting, I wonder Dr. Wren, who undertooke it, doth not lett me know what to trust to, that I may att least provide myself, though I shall not nede much; for I meane to preach doctrines and uses only. Though I will, if I can, be excused. Lett them thinke and talke I am banished the Court. I can beare by long experience such speches, and happely it were better they should thincke so. Have you not putt a word into my mouth yourself,—"Places at Court, and preferments abroad, make us but the more unfitt to serve God at home."

For Mr. Procter, yet respect him. God knoweth what weke men may worke. We must be glad of little stars' light when greater planetts hide their heads, and move but in their owne spheres. I will use your letters as you would have them. Serve myne the like way.

I understand Featly hath sett out a new booke, and your Primate made a . . . . . sermon to the King, little *è re nostrâ,* or the Duke's. Is it so? What wilbe the issue of theise things? Shall I make my peace with the Puritans and turne over a new leafe, and putt the Bishops to some plunges ‡ an other while?

* He alludes to the probability of Prideaux being made a Bishop.

† The Duke of Buckingham. Digby, Earl of Bristol, had not long before been accused of high treason by the Attorney-General. Upon this, the Earl of Bristol brought a counter-allegation of like character against the Duke.

‡ *i. e. straits,* or *difficulties.* Laud uses the word in his Diary:—"1629—30. March 21. After this I had divers *plunges,* and was not able to put myself into the service of my place till Palm Sunday, which was March 21."

Theise (*tantum non in Episcopatu*) *puritani* would be smoked with I can tell what. By this bearer, my Curate, you may write safely.

I can never heare from the Dr.

Your assured

R. M.

Jun. 28, [1626,] Pettworth.

Remember my service to my Lord of Durham, the only man that standeth up to purpose in the gapp.

To the right wll. my loving frind, Mr. Jhon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham house, be this.

LXI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 38.]

Sir,

I could not but salute you by this bearer, though I knowe not much what to write. He is secretary to my Lord of Northumberland, a merveilous honest, civill young man, ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης. I pray love him, like him. Somewhat nere is his name to our good freind Mr. Porter, for Mr. Hugh Potter is he.

If you have don any thing with your booksellers, printers, or books, lett us know. I allway told Dr. Linsell what a bogle his Primate would prove, and now he finds it. Well fare the ladyes that so holde him. Sr. Ihon Leeds told us the whole business.

I shall not see you, I thincke, before you goe. Pray for me, and I will do the like for you, and returne into the south as you may. If you come, and the good Deane or Bishop *, whether is he? go into the north, I may allmost take up Elias' complaint and say, "*I only am left*" to beare the brunts, but I hope παρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς. *Iterum vale*, καὶ ἡμῶν μνησόμενος . . . . . τὸν Θεόν.

Your ever assured

R. Mountagu.

Pettworth,
July 5, [1626.]

"To the wll. my worthy freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham house, be this."

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* Probably Dr. White, who succeeded Bishop Senhouse in the See of Carlisle. He was consecrated December 3, 1626.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 335.

LXII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 36.]

Sir,

I expected to have heard some more newes from you, howe things are like to go, whether Puritans be like to prevale, if Prideux, *quod Deus avertat*, be like to be Bishop, whether there be like to be a Parlement agayne, *ut mendicant.* Nothing but of a ladye and a lord meeting, and talking of me. More, then, they talke of me. I have long ben *fabula vulgi*, and since the late Proclamation am σκύβαλον *populi, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.* To morowe, God willing, I am for Pettworth. If the sequestration come I shall be there to answere it, though I have sent up my men to stopp it, though the fault was not myne, for I thought it had been paid. I pray assist Henry what you can, with your presence or interest in any of the Court, *et quàm queas minimo.*

I must growe miserable not to buy a Bishopricke *: but, *ut ætatis quod reliquum est oblectem, juva.* For *sat Priamo patriæque datum*, and I may say with Scipio Africanus, *Ingrata patria, etc.* I have deserved better of the Church. I beate the bush and others catch the birds. Honest Ihon, goe downe to the north, I will go to the south: there *Deo et saluti vacabimus: cætera tendas.*

My brother was in fault. I thought the payments of my first fruits had ben all discharged.

I wrote unto you of a discourse about the Bishop's booke left att my house. I read it over *cursim.* It was well written for the intent and subject. I sent him word I had prepared Dr. Linsell and you to be acquainted with him, for which since he hartily thanketh me, and will repayre unto you. Use him,

* Great corruption evidently prevailed at that time with respect to the acquisition of Church preferment, even as it regarded the highest dignities. Laud used every effort to free the Church from this reproach. "It had been Laud's great care," says Heylin, "as he grew into credit with his Majesty, to give a stop to such corruptions as had been used too frequently in the Court, about Church preferments, which made him the less acceptable to many which were near the King in place and service, who formerly had been on the taking hand, and made a market of the Church as they had occasion. Goodman of Gloucester having staid in that Diocess long enough to be as weary of them as they were of him, affected a remove to the See of Hereford, and had so far prevailed with some great Officers of State, that his money was taken, his *Congè d'eslire* issued out, his election passed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, and being ashamed of so much baseness in the man, who could pretend no other merit than his mony, so laboured the business with the King, and the King so rattled up the Bishop, that he was glad to make his peace, not only with the resignation of his election, but the loss of his bribe."—Cyp. Angl. part ii., p. 248.

though, I thinck, a laicke, respectively. We must gayne what we can, and when we can. His name is Tho. Proctor. You knowe as much as I do, only he is to be heard of att Mr. Martin Pinder's house, att the signe of the Rose in Cheapside. Be acquainted with him, happely we may gayne some to the side. If you go into London in my opinion it were not amisse to call there, and visit him as from me. He saith he is much out of towne. *Vide, vise, et certiorem facito.*

What shall I trust to concerning my month for Mr. Hutchinson? Hath Dr. Wrende livered my letter and effected it? This I must knowe, for *appropinquat tempus*, and I must provide.

One thing more: the height of my ambition, and I thincke of the best service I could do for the Church, is to be Deane of Paul's or Westminster. You may acquaint Mr. Porter with this, if any thing that way should suddenly happen. It is *extra telum invidiæ*, and more affected by me then a Bishopricke.

Vale. I can go no farther you se. *Res ἐπὶ ξυρᾶς ἀκμῆ*: but my Lord of S. David's, if yet S. David's *, must direct. *Nobis, ea jussa capessere fas est. Vale.*

Yours, R. M.

[No Date: probably written in July, 1626.]

"To the wᵗʰ. my worthie frind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham house, be this."

LXIII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 9.]

Sir,

I thanck you for your good newes. You and the Dʳ. *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί*, and God reward the two Bishops that were so carefull. It hath as much revived me as if the King had sent me a Bishopricke, and more, for I hope well *de cætero*. Doubtlesse, unlesse mere necessity deferre him otherwise, *actum est de Puritanis*. But we must remember the Councell of Nice, when Arius was concluded against by the Prince in state; for the Homousiasts, they rest all upon God and neclected means. The Arians tooke opportunity, plied the Courtiers, and so wrought that att last Athanasius was banished, and Constantine himself, in my opinion, died an Arian. I hope our brother wilbe more carefull. For my self I could royally make my peace with that scole, though they hate me; but then I could not answere it to

* Laud's *congé d'élire* for Bath and Wells was issued 26th July, 1626. He was elected on the 16th August and confirmed on the 18th September following.

my Maker. I am sorry for nothing so much as that your household wilbe shortly for the north *. Then am I left alone. Methincks Milburne, that knave, should be half hanged that hath ben the publisher of those libells, but *quid interim de* Prideux, who licensed Bishop Carleton's booke † to be printed att London. It were good it were trumped in his way, for Excester. That hobby-horse Featly will, as he hath formerly don, crouch and fawne, and wind himself out. It were not amisse he were smoked. I will σὺν Θεῷ go forward with Carleton's answer, and when I have done it, be bold you shall have it.

I will provide my self for August, for I heare nothing of my substitute, though the King I thinke wilbe att Windsore before. If preferments be not gon, happely time may bud something. Were the King furnished with mony, I wold not dreame of a P[arliament] nor feare the Puritan faction, but God knoweth what δεινὴ θεὸς ἀναγκὴ may do. God blesse Mr. Porter. You said nothing of that course I propended in my last. For my part I will take my course to effect it. If he come to Windsore I have a lodging for him, if he please. But lett me knowe it.

Remember my service to my Lord, and my Lord of London when you see him. To Dr. Lindsell my love. Lett me know when you are for the north. Thether, hether, there, every where, God kepe you, and us all.

Yours *ad aras*,
R. M.

[No Date: probably written in July, 1626.]

"To the wᵗˡ. my worthie freind, Mr. Iho. Cosen, Archdeacⁿ. of Yorke, att Durhā hous, be this."

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* Cosin was in the north, and attended a Chapter at Durham on the 9th August, 1626, so that this letter was written previously to that month.

† This book was probably one which Bishop Carleton published in 1626, under the title of *Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late Appeal holdeth the Doctrine of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England.* Lond. 1626, 4to. Besides this Answer or Examination made to Mountague's Appeal, six more were published; one by Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, a second by Dr. Daniel Featly, a third by Francis Rouse, sometime of Broadgate Hall in Oxford, a fourth by Anthony Wotton of Cambridge, a fifth by John Yates, B.D., of Emman. Coll. Cambridge, and minister of St. Andrew's, Norwich, and the sixth by Henry Burton, of Friday-street in London. Bishop Carleton published likewise in the same year *A joint Attestation avowing that the discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort.* Lond. 1626, 4to.

Carleton was one of the divines selected to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, and is said by some to have owed his advancement to the See of Chichester to his judicious conduct in that assembly. He was a learned man, a bitter enemy to the Papists, and a severe Calvinist. See Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss. ii. 422. He became Bishop of Llandaff in 1617, and was translated from that See to Chichester in Sept. 1619.—Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 59, 522.

LXIV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 20.]

Sir,

This present Saturday, August 26, I came to London to do my duty to my Lord Duke, because I missed him att Windsore, where I mett our worthie true frind, who did me the honor to dyne with me att a fish diner upon Fryday. He and I had much talke *pro et citrà* of occurrences. He shewed me a letter from your self, but no word of one thing was there. Wott you what? *Aiunt te conjectum in vincula, sed nuptiarum**. The suborner was the author and I told it our frind. I was feyne to break promise with our frind. I told him I would come upon Sunday morning to his house, and go with him to my Lord Duke, but it was my good happ to dine with his Grace and my Lady Denbighs † the day before, that is on Saturday, where I mett, and had much good talke with, that worshipfull the Lady Faulkland. I also became acquainted with my Lord Duke's mother, the Duchesse of Buckingham‡. I hope well. Were I with you I would tell you what discourse we had. *Litteris autem loquitur*. I had good spech with his Grace, and noble assurance both for him self and his Majesty, which I trust wilbe to my content and yours. I stad so longe there that my Lord of Worcester, who that day came out of Wiltshire, was gon to Bromly before I could gett free, and my Lord of St. David's, *quondam* §, was gon to Croydon, *cur ego nescio*, unlesse about his newe bishopricke. The election is returned and royall assent passed, so that nowe he is *Electus Bathon*. The rest sleepe, and shall yet a while, *quousque* things be fitt. Dr. White shall have Carlile ‖, but *de Exoniâ ampliandum* ¶. Dr. Mawe** is of, Dr. Hall on. Bishop Murray †† ernest by the

* Cosin was married on the 13th August, 1626, to Frances, daughter of Marmaduke Blakiston, Prebendary of Durham.

† Lady Denbigh was sister to the Duke of Buckingham.

‡ Mary, the second wife of Sir George Villiers, and mother of the Duke of Buckingham. She afterwards married to her second husband Sir William Rayner, Knt., and to her third Sir Thomas Compton, K.B., brother to the Earl of Northampton. On July 1st, 1618, she was created by patent *Countess* of Buckingham. See Dugdale's Baronage, iii. 432.

§ Laud. See *antè*, p. 99, *note*.

‖ Dr. Francis White, Dean of Carlisle, was consecrated Bishop of that See, Dec. 3, 1626.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 335.

¶ The See of Exeter had been vacant from 10th June, 1626, by the death of Valentine Cary, nor was it filled up till Nov. 5, 1627, when Joseph Hall was elected.—Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

** Dr. Mawe succeeded Laud as Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1628.—Ibid, p. 34.

†† John Murray, Bishop of Fenabore, in Ireland. He became Bishop of Llandaff in 1627.—Ibid, p. 522.

King's Atturny. *Nobis nec metitur, nec seritur: sed ἔσται πάντα καλῶς.*

The French are all gon, but no *Evangelia* for my Lord or you. There be new French come to Durham house. Our worthie frend did what he could to avert them, but the King could not tell howe to dispose them, and so there they must be, but not long, it is promised. The Queen hath thre prèists, Father Phillipps, I thinck, her Confessor, a Scottishman, Father Godfry, and Mr. Potter, all honest moderate men as they say*. I have much to say, but *coràm*. The French ladyes are all gon, I thincke. There be of her Majesty's bedchamber the Duchesse of Buckinghame and the Lady Savage; Roman Catholicks. The rest Protestants. My Lord Percy is M^r. of her horse, the Lord Montgomery is Lord Chamberlayne. The allyance you spake of is made. I hope *bono publico, et nostro privato*. My Lord's Grace is wonderous well, God be thancked.

The Commons, *nescio quomodo, quibus auxiliis,* do deny to lend money. The shipps are going out. Captyne Porter goeth. Our worthie frind tells me he will stay att Portsmuth before he goe, and will take Pettworth in his way.

There is a booke come out against me since you went, by one Prinne †, a lawer. *Nullus vidi adhuc.* So little do they care for authority. Dr. Featly did insinuate to my Lady Denbigh disavowing Puritanisme, and all he had don against the Appeale. I thincke I have cast a bone in his way. I came but lately from Pettworth, therfore you must not look for much newes from me. I am booted redy to ride, therfore I can not enlarge.

Remember my service to his Lordship. My commendations to Dr. L. who envieth your felicity, therefore *ambit uxorem*. So Mr. Subcantor told me.

* "Two Englis priestes she hath now allowed her, viz. Potter and Godfrey, some add a third, to wit, Preston: all three of them have taken the oath of Allegiance, some say of Supremacy. * * * the foure Englishe ladies sworne of her Bedchamber are the Duchesse of Buckingham, the Marques [Marchioness] Hamiltoun, and the Countesses of Carlisle and Denbigh."—Ellis's Orig. Letters, iii. 243. (Mr. John Pory to Jos. Meade.)

† This letter of Mountagu's was clearly written in 1626, but no work belonging to that year appears in the list of Prynne's writings. It is possible that the following publication may have been attributed to Prynne:—*Dangerous plot discovered by a discourse, wherein it is proved that Mr. Richard Montagu, in his two Books, the one called "New Gagg," the other, "A Just Appeal," laboureth to bring in the Faith of Rome and Arminius under the name and pretence of the doctrine of faith of the Church of England.* 1626. 4to. It may be, however, that the publication Mountagu refers to was one of those pamphlets which about this time were either called in, or stopped at the press. Prynne was one of those who were brought before the High Commission at this time for a controversial writing, published in defiance of the King's Proclamation.—Cf. Heylin's Cyp. Angl., p. 148.

Vale. My sone Stokes remembers his service to you both. I am glad you are become an honest man *.

Tuissimus,
R. M.

August 26, [1626.]
Westminster.

"To the wll. my worthy frend Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham, be this. Leave this att Durham house, to be delivered to Mr. Holmses to be sent as directed."

LXV.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 39.]

Sir,

Thincking more seriously upon thoise times I have wondred att my Lord of S. David's passage with me, as if his Majesty were not resolved against the side. Wherefore I thought it fitt to write this inclosed to our noble frend, which I send you open: read it, seale it. It were better for me to have though but the tittle [*title*] of a Bishop, to give me countenance, if any thing should happen, then otherwise. Sr. Tho. Savage †, if nede be, will joyne all his forces and my Lord of Ruttland's to the Duke for Exeter ‡. I left such order with Mr. Edw. Savage before I came away, whose lodging is att Mr. Richardson's, a wollen draper att the White Lion, in Paul's Churchyard.

I will expect your returne of answere, and not go to Pettworth, nor resolve upon going till I heare. But I make no question God will dispose all for the best, howsoever. Therefore I am resolved to be trobled with nothing, but only to promote the Churche's cause, which, whatsoever shalbe thought fitt therefore, I will both do and suffer in God's name.

(No signature.)

[August, 1626.]

"To the wll. my worthe freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham house, be this."

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* This expression is apparently an allusion to his having recently "taken the holy estate of Matrimony upon him."

† Created Earl Rivers, by patent bearing date 4th Nov., 1626.

‡ Vacant by the death of Cary. See note on page 101.

LXVI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 17.]

Sir, *Salutem in Christo.* I have no much newes, nor occasion to write, but only that the bearer being att Pettworth so opportunely, and to take Durham, at least Mr. Blacston's, in his way, I would not lett you go *insalutatum.* I spake with my Lord Duke's Grace since I wrote my letter last unto you, which I hope you had from Durham house. *Idem semper,* and so am I. All that I sayd was, I refer'd my self wholy to his Grace. You like not this modestie, but why not. If I should erre in settling upon any thing, I might thanke my self. Now I putt it to God, and do what is convenient. All wilbe for the best.

I can not heare of my Lord of Bath and Wells, where he is. The Bishopricks are not yet bestowed nor resolved that I can heare of.

Privy seales go abroade and deepe to some brethren. I hope they shall pay. There be 1000 men of those that went the last voyage billetted in Sussex; as many, they say, in Kent.

Dr. Good hath left the Archbishop's service and Mr. Jeffryes of Pembroke hall is in his place.

Make as much hast as you can I pray. It is time for you, I hope, to come and see your unckle. If you knowe not the meaning of this proverbe, enquire. Lindsell, I understand, invieth our felicity, and would also turne honest man *. I will not say οὐκ ἔτι χρόνος, but it is almost to late. Let him make hast, and over take you and me. Commend me to him, and to your Fan, though unknowen. If you bring her not up, I hope you will make hast downe. My service to my Lord must not be forgotten. *Vale, et precibus nos juva. Nos te.*

Your assured, you know who, by the hand.

Septr. xi. [1626.]
[Address torn off.]

LXVII.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 19.]

Sir, so long, and from you οὐδὲ γρῦ, of you οὐδὲ μύ. I wrote to you forthnight since: have you it? I would say the whether [*weather*] hath frosen your incke, but that I knowe you have *ignem inextinguibilem* in your chamber. But yet I lay it upon the whether. For it hindereth me from coming. *Maria sunt*

* See the note on page 103.

clausa. Our boates are embargued by ice. I can not passe my utensiles and servants, as I must, for Essex, until *degelâsset*, else I had ben with you x dayes agon. I am resolved to take the Lectureship my self, because I knowe of no pretenders but Puritans in part or whole: the rather because most part of this yere I must be att Windsore: *κύος γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ* [*? post*] *duodecim sterilitatem. Rides?* Do so, and pray for us too and commend us to all that love us. Your calender sheets I will dispatch *quantâ potero brevitate* *. *Vale*. If you have any newes, lett us have it, *et . . . . nos*.

Tuissimus,

Jan. xii. [1626-7.] MONTACUTUS.

"To the wll. my worthy frind Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of York, att Durham house, this."

LXVIII.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 41.]

GOOD IOHN,

ATT my returne home I found a letter and 4 or 5 shetts of paper sent unto me from one Thomas Procter, a man unknowen *de nomine et facie*. It was a tract against the Bishop of Chichester†, for divers errors of his in point of Predestination. The first was, that though we be justified frely, yet not without respect to faith; *et sic de electione*, out of Rom: iii. 24, 26: the 2, that though it be with respect to faith, it is farr from Pelag[ianism], etc. and so of the rest, a modest but quick stile. I guessed it some honest ingenus layman's, and such he was that delivered the papers to the waterman, and will require them. I had but little time to read them over, but did twice, and sent him some observations. I lett him understand of my going to Pettworth, but if [it] pleas'd him to repayre to you and Dr. Lindsell, that you would advice him for the best. I sent to him to lett me understand his state and condition more fully. He specifieth twice that he hath written of this argument, which I never sawe. Did you? If you have any newes for us, lett us have it, and what you thinke of things, how they are like to goe.

* It is not improbable that Cosin submitted the proof-sheets of the Calendar in his *Hours of Prayer* (published in this year) to Mountagu's revision. Or it may refer to some revision of the Prayer-book in which Cosin was then engaged. In a letter addressed to Laud in June, 1628, which will be given hereafter, we find him complaining of some accusations made against him for alterations in the Prayer-book.

† Carleton, Mountagu's opponent. See *antè*, p. 100, *note*.

Uttcunque, I will dispatch my answere to the Bishop, and so lett it rest for a good time, if God send it. Remember me most kindly to Mr. Porter. I am now, upon better thincking of it, of your mind, if I might have Exeter, but not else. If the king be resolved, methincks it were best to destop them: but *Θεοῦ δ' ἐν γούνασι κεῖται.* Upon Thursday, except any thing hinder, I am for Pettworth. I could wish our Deane were a Bishop, and some of you, or Dr. Lins[ell], our Deane. *Optima speranda, quaecunque evenerint ferenda.* I am sory you are for the north this summer. I shall thincke long till you returne.

Your loving frend,
R. M.

Jan. 19, [1626-7.]

"To the w[ll]. my worthy frend, Mr. Ihon Cosen,
att Durham house, this."

LXIX.—Articles to be diligently inquired of, and severally answered unto, upon oath, by the church-wardens and sworne-men of every parish within the Jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of the East-riding in York: at the Archdeacon's ordinary Visitation there in the yeere of our Lord 1627. [From the original MS., in Cosin's handwriting, in the possession of the Editor *.]

The forme of the oath which the Church-wardens and side-men are to take for the serious and religious performance of their duties, in making a severall, plaine, full, and true answere to every one of the Articles following. [In margine, See Peterburgh Oath.]

You shall sweare, That having first duely considered, and after made diligent inquirie, of all things in these Articles mentioned, without affection or favour, without malice, hope of reward, or feare of displeasure, you shall make a true, full, and particular answere in writing to all and to every one of these Articles

* The manuscript from which these Articles are printed is a rough draught, with many interlineations and alterations. It is on loose sheets, and the second part, if it ever existed, is lost. Whether Cosin ever propounded his Visitation Articles, as regarded the Clergy, in the form here given, or whether he eventually decided upon giving them in the more condensed shape in which they appear as printed in his works (Ang. Cath. Lib.), vol. ii. p. 1, it is of course impossible to say. Their minuteness and particularity render them, at all events, well worthy of preservation.

given you in charge: presenting every offence and every offendour within your parish, whom you either know, or vehemently suspect, or by common fame doe heare to have committed any fault, or omitted any dutie therein mentioned. So help you God and his holy Gospell.

An Advertisement.

Matth. v. 33. *Thou shalt not forsweare thy selfe, but shalt performe thine oath unto the Lord.*

The Churchwardens and Side-men, after they have deliberately considered, and enquired into these Articles, are to write their severall answeres thereunto, and to deliver them up at the Visitation, in such wise, as they will answere their doings before Almightie God, to whom they shall one day give an accompt thereof, and as they feare the perill of their owne soules, which be brought into no little danger by perverting or by hiding the truth from their Ordinary, who according to his office and bounden dutie, doth seek nothing els in his diligent inquirie and visitation of their parishes but the punishment of wickednes and vice, with the maintenance of God's true religion and vertue among them.

☞ *The Ministers of every parish, (who are the men that should have the chiefe care to suppresse sin, and disobedience in their people,) may either joyne in presentment with the Churchwardens, or otherwise present what they see amisse by themselves.* Vide Can. 113.

The first Articles, concerning the Clergie, who of dutie should give good example to others.

Cap. I. *Touching their sobrietie and godlines of living.*

First. Is there any of the Clergie in your parish (whether he be your Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, or other), who in his teaching, and in his living, maketh not himselfe an example of godlines and vertue unto others. Doth he or they so behave themselves, that in the judgment of indifferent persons they doe continually declare their whole life and studie to be priest-like and holy, searching principally the honour of God and his Church, the health of such soules as are committed to their cure and charge, the peace and quietnes of all Christian people, the honour of the King, and the wealth of this his realme?

2. Whether be there any of them, who (forgetting that high and holy office whereunto God hath called him), doth give him-

self over to base and servile labours, or otherwise to vain and idle pastimes. Is he noted not to ply his studie and his praiers, but to spend away his time in drinking at the alehouse, or ryot at the taverne; in resorting to common bowling allies, or other lewd places; in playing at dice, cards, tables, or any such unthriftie and unlawfull games; in hawking and hunting like a gallant; in sporting and dancing like a wanton person; or in other the like actions not priestly, nor beseeming his calling?

3. Is he sober and grave; courteous and discreet in his common language; or is he noted to be a swearer, a blasphemer of God or his saints; a fighter, a brawler, a fornicator, an usurer, a sower of discord, a pervertor of well disposed people to God and the King; or is he otherwise offensive and scandalous to his sacred function?

4. Is he decent and comly in his apparrell, wearing a grave and priestly habit, to be distinguished thereby from other people? Are his garments framed according to the Canon in that behalfe prescribed, without lightnes, vanity, disorder, or any unseemlines whatsoever? Can. 74.

5. Is there any of them that hath forsaken his calling, and useth himselfe in his course of life like a gentleman, or a layman, that occupieth buying and selling like a merchant, and for gaine [in] other respect imployeth himself in worldly affaires and studies to the great dishonour of God's Church, and the scandall of his bretheren?

Cap. II. *Touching their qualities, degrees, orders, ecclesiasticall livings, residence, &c.*

6. Hath your Priest, or Curate, beene heretofore a student in either of the Universities of this realme, and how long did he stay and studie there? Hath he beene admitted unto any degrees of schoole? Unto what degree was it, and how long since?

7. Was he made a priest, or admitted into Holy Orders by a Bishop, and by the forme of Ordination set forth and prescribed here in the Church of England? Doe you know or suspect, or have you heard any common fame that he came to his sacred orders by any corrupt meanes, either of gift for the present, or promise of reward for the future?

8. Have you a Parson or a Vicar over you? Is he canonically instituted into his benefice by the Bishop, and inducted thereunto by the Archdeacon, not placed there by the secular power and autoritie of the patron or other? Did he read his Articles upon his induction?

9. Doe you know, or have you credibly heard that he was either presented or admitted to his benefice for any compact by money, or other bribes? Doe not men say that he committed simonie, directly or indirectly, promising to release the patron, or some other, of their tithes for the procuring thereof? And if it were resigned, did he make no money, or money-worth, bargaine with the former incumbent for that purpose?

10. Whether have yee your Parson or Vicar continually resident with you upon his benefice, doing his dutie as well in serving the cure, and executing all divine offices by himself, as in keeping hospitalitie, and relieving the poore according to his power?

11. If your Parson or Vicar be absent from you, and is not resident upon his benefice, whether hath he a lawfull licence, and a sufficient dispensation so to doe? How often, and how long is he usually absent in the yeere? And, when he is absent, doth he provide and lawfully substitute an honest, able, and sufficient learned priest under him, faithfully to supply his roome, duly to serve his cure, charitably to relieve the poore, and otherwise to doe his dutie, as by the lawes and customes of this realme he is bound to doe?

12. Hath he letten out his benefice to farme longer then he is by law allowed? or upon any such conditions, and after any such manner, as that the same shalbe prejudiciall to the Church, and the next incumbent after him?

13. Hath he exchanged, sold, or alienated any part or parcell either of his mansion-house, or of his glebe land? or hath he made away from himselfe and his successors, by ungodly compositions, any portion of tithes, or other profitts, to his parsonage or vicarage belonging?

14. Hath he any more benefices, or ecclesiasticall promotions, then this one, with cure, or without cure, of soules? If he hath, what call you their names? Where doe they lay? How farre distant are they one from the other? and is he alwayes resident upon one of them that hath cure?

Cap. III. *Touching Curates.*

15. If your Parson or Vicar hath any Curate under him to supply his roome, is that curate of his a priest or a deacon at least, lawfully ordayned by a Bishop?

16. Doth he not set up himselfe, and serve the cure of his owne head, or upon any other private and unlawfull autoritie? But is he duly allowed by the Ordinarie under his hand and seale to serve in your parish?

17. Doth your Curate for filthy lucre's sake, or for want of due maintenance from your Incumbent, or otherwise, serve two cures or chappells in one day, to the scandall of the Church, and the negligent performance of God's holy service, against which his curse is threatned?

18. What is your Curate's name? what his degree? what his stipend for serving the cure? How long hath he beene curate among you? Who was your curate before, and what is now become of him?

19. Is your Church, or any Chappell within your parish destitute of a sufficient curate? How long hath it beene so; and by whose default is it so?

Cap. IV. *Touching the execution of Divine Offices, and first of saying the Daily Prayers of the Church.*

20. Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate carefully apply himselfe to the studie and knowledge of the Church Service, together with the laudable solemnities and religious ceremonies thereunto belonging; so that upon all occasions he be expert and readie to execute any part thereof, according to the exact forme prescribed by the lawes, and also to understand the course of the Church-service and rites so well, that he may be readie to render a good reason therof to them that aske it?

21. Doth he duly observe and performe his *daily* taske in serving God and praying for the people, as he is bound to doe by the precept of the Church, and the law of this realme; that is, every day devoutly saying over the Morning and the Evening Prayer, as is prescribed, either privately at home, or publickly in the Church, when he hath no urgent or unfeigned cause to the contrary: alwayes remembring that it is one great part of his office (being a Deacon or a Priest solemnely ordayned for that purpose) to praise and worship God not only in his owne name, but in the name of others also, and to offer up the Daily Prayers of the Church as for the welfare of all Christian people, so especially of them who are committed to his charge?

22. Doth he, howsoever, upon the Lord's day, (commonly called Sunday) and upon all other Holy Dayes, with their eves, say or sing and celebrate Divine Service in the Church, (both Matins and Evensong, and High Service,) at fitt and usuall times of those dayes?

23. Upon Sundayes, Wedensdayes, and Fridayes, doth he resort to the Church at the accustomed houres of Service, and there, over and above the other daily prayers, doth he adde, and saye the Letanie with the suffrages thereunto annexed? And

doth he say the same devoutly and reverently kneeling forward in the mids of the Church, as is prescribed by the Injunctions for Uniformitie, and as the accustomed manner is in all the exemplary places and Quires of this realme?

24. When at any time he saith or celebrateth Divine Service, doth he performe the same in that religious, grave, and awefull manner, which best becommeth him to use before the presence of Almightie God, whom then he coms to serve: and which doth best affect the people with reverence and devotion, who come to serve with him? Doth he read distinctly with pauses, and pray devoutly with all lowlines and humilitie? Doth he not post and haste over his service? and doth he not performe it negligently and slightly, or in any other rude manner, which ill beseemeth the solemne worship of Almightie God?

25. Doth he alwayes say or celebrate Divine Service in that prescribed order, manner, and forme only which is set downe in the Book of Common Prayer, without presuming of his owne head, or after the custome of others (as they say) to change, alter, displace, omit, or adde, any thing whatsoever in the matter or forme thereof? As for example:—

☞ Doth he ever, at the beginning both of Morning and Evening Prayer, prepare the people to God's holy service; first, by reading unto them one of those *Sentences* appointed and selected out of the Scriptures; then by saying the whole *Exhortation* following; without beginning (as the negligent and hastie manner is) at—*Wherefore I pray and beseech you*, &c. Next, by causing them to make humble *Confession* of their sinnes; and afterwards by pronouncing the *Absolution* over them, if he be a Priest, remembring that he who is but a Deacon only, hath no power given him to stand up and absolve the people.

☞ When this is ended, doth he begin with the *Lord's Prayer;* orderly proceeding with the *Verses* and *Responds*, so that the Clark and people may answere him? Doth he read the *Psalmes* of the day, and those *Lessons* only which be appointed in the Table, or in the Calendar of the Church? Doth he say or sing the *Te Deum* and the rest of the *Hymnes* which are to follow the Lessons, in such words, manner, and forme, as they be there prescribed by the Booke? And doth he rehearse the *Creed*, with the *Prayers* following, that are only injoyned to be read, and no other, untill the end of Morning and Evening Prayer?

☞ Doth he, after the end of every severall *Psalme*, and likewise after the end of those *Hymnes*, which be appointed alwaies to follow the Lessons, and are commonly called *Benedictus, Bene-*

dicite, Magnificat, and *Nunc dimittis,* doth he, after all these, repeat and say *Glory be to the Father,* &c., that the Clark and people may stand up and answere, *As it was in the beginning,* &c.

☞ Hath he not a custome to seeme wiser then the Church and the Law, and to read the Scripture after another order and course of chapters then is prescribed in the *Tables of Lessons* (aswell proper as common) set forth for that purpose? And is it not his use at any time to substitute other Hymnes, or to sing other Psalmes after the Lessons, in stead of those which the Booke injoyneth him to use? [*In margine,* Arch: of Nor. 28*. Linc. 14 †. Doth he admonish the Churchwardens after the 2d lessen to note such as are absent. Grind[al] 47 ‡. Vide pag. 16 §.]

☞ When the Letanie is to be said, doth it come in at due time and place, after the ending of Morning Prayer? And is it said so distinctly, so gravely, and so leisurely, that thereby the people may be stirred up to devotion, and have time to interpose the *Supplications* and *Answeres* which be there appointed for them to use?

Vide 35 Art. of Edw. 6 ||.

* The Editor is in possession of a copy of Overall's Articles in Cosin's handwriting, and authenticated by the signature of the former, which has some arbitrary marks and numerals in the margin. One of the Articles (Tit. ii. § 3) is marked with the figures "28," and appears to have a reference to the subject of the above Paragraph. It is as follows:—"Whether in the Sacrament of Baptisme rightly and duly administred, according to the prescript forme expressed in the Booke of Common-prayer, with due observation of all rites and ceremonies prescribed in the administration of the same, *without adding or altering any part or parcell of any prayers, interrogations,* or not using the signe of the crosse in the administration of the same."

† Amongst the inquiries in the 14th Section of the Visitation Articles issued in 1604 by Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln, occurs the following:—"Whether the holy Sacraments, with other rites and ceremonies contained in the booke of common praier, be dulie and reverently ministred, in such manner as is set forth by the same booke, *without adding or diminishing from the same.*"—See Appendix to Second Report of the Royal Commission on Ritual, p. 447.

‡ The 47th Section of Archbishop Grindal's Articles runs thus: "Whether for the putting of the Churchwardens and Swornemen the better in remembraunce of their duetie in obseruing and noting such, as offend in not comming to diuine seruice, your Minister or reader doe openly euery Sunday, after he haue red the Seconde Lesson at morning and evening prayer, monish and warne the Churchwardens and Swornemen to looke to their charge in this behalfe, and to obserue who contrarie to the sayde Statute offende in absenting themselues negligently, or wilfully from their parish Church or Chappell, or vnreuerently (as is aforesaide) vse themselues in the time of diuine seruice."—Ibid. p. 410.

§ This reference is to the page in the MS. It belongs to the marginal note, cap. xiv. § 1.

|| In the Articles of Visitation put forth in the second year of King Edward VI. by Archbishop Cranmer, the 35th is as follows:—"Item, Whether they have the Procession book in English, and have said or song the said Litany in any other place, but upon their knees in the middest of their Church, and whether they use any other procession, or omit the said Litany at any time, or say it or sing it in such sort as the people cannot understand the same."—Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c., p. 28.

☞ Upon all Sundayes and Holydaies at least, after the Morning Prayer and the Letanie be ended, doth he come up from his ordinary seate to the north side of the Holy Communion Table, and there read all that is appointed to be read for the second Service of the day, (aswell the *Law*, when the people are upon their knees, as the *Gospell*, when they stand up) untill the end of the Nicen Creed? Then doth he goe up into the pulpit, and begin the Sermon? or is there an Homilie read instead thereof? And afterwards returning to the Table, and having declared to the people what Holydaies and Fasting dayes they are to observe the week following (if any be), doth he conclude with the generall prayer (for the whole estate of Christ's Church) together with a Collect after the Offertorie, and so dismisse the people with the Benediction?

26. Whether doth he, in regard of any long prayers, or long preaching of his owne, or in any other regard whatsoever, diminish the prayers of the Church, or cut of any part of the Service; as the *Letanie*, the *Ten Commandments*, the *Gospell*, the *Creed*, &c.; whereby the people may lose the knowledge and use of those holy thinges, which doe most of all concerne them?

27. Doth he not only sometimes weare, or usually weare, but alwayes weare, and never omit the wearing of a surplice, when he readeth Divine Service, either Morning or Evening, or when he administreth the Sacraments, and performeth any other part of his priestly or ministeriall function in the Church? Vide Articles of Lincolne. 15 Art.*

Cap. V. *Touching the Sacrament of Baptisme.*

28. Whether is the Sacrament of Baptisme rightly and duly administred, according to the prescript forme expressed in that *Order* which is set forth by the Church, without altering, adding, or omitting any thing, either in substance or ceremonie, therein mentioned and appointed to be used?

29. Doth not your Minister neglect to read any of the Prayers, Interrogatories, or Exhortations, specially that upon the words of the Gospell, which he is commanded to doe, that the people may be thereby the better instructed in the nature, necessitie, benefit, and efficacie of this Holy Sacrament?

* The Lincoln Articles, cited in a foregoing note, contain a similar inquiry, but it occurs in the 14th section:—"Whether your minister at all times vpon sundaies and holidaies doe weare in time of diuine seruice and administration of the Sacraments, the surplesse, yea or no, or doe suffer any other to saie the common praier, or minister either of the Sacraments in your Church not wearing the same."

30. Doth he refuse to baptize any child which is either borne or expos'd in his parish? Is it his default that the baptisme of any child is deferred longer then the Sunday or Holyday next after the birth thereof? In case of necessitie doth he hasten to baptize it? And be there any children who through his negligence have dyed without their baptisme, whereby they had undoubtedly receyved both remission of originall sinne, and all things necessary to their salvation?

31. Doth he use to baptize any men's children in private houses, unlesse it be upon great necessitie, as when the child is in perill of death, and cannot safely be brought to the Church?

32. When any child is brought to the Church to be christned, hath not your Minister got the new devise, to baptize it in a bason, or some other vessell brought from private houses, leaving the ancient use of the Font, which is consecrated for that purpose?

33. Doth he admit any father to be Godfather to his owne child, whereby neither shall the spirituall regeneration of the Infant, then wrought by the power of Christ's Divine Baptisme, be so lively and significantly expressed; nor shall the Church have such sufficient caution, as it ever hath required, for the performance of that solemne vow and promise, then made and expressed on the child's behalfe, from them that must most carefully see unto it?

34. Therefore also, when he admitteth any other Godfathers or Godmothers to answere and to undertake so solemnely for an Infant, are they alwayes such as they ought to be, persons of discretion and age sufficient, well instructed in the faith of Christ themselves, ready to answere with understanding and religion unto the Interrogatories propounded, [*In margine*:— Doe they not answere as if they were ashamed to renounce, &c.] and such only as have been confirmed first by the Bishop, and admitted by the Priest unto the Holy Communion? If they be not thus qualified and fitted to be Godfathers or Godmothers, doth your Minister refuse them? and causeth he others to be procured?

35. In the administration of Baptisme, doth he not only sometimes, or commonly, use the signe of the Crosse; but doth he alwaies use it, and never omit the use of it, making the signe of the Crosse upon every child's forehead, as is commanded?

36. Doth he administer the Sacrament of Baptisme in the Service time, when the second Lesson is ended, either in Morning or Evening Prayer, and not when all the people are gone, after the Sermon ended; that so by this meanes all the people

being present at it, may both joyne with him in the prayers appointed, and withall be put in mind of their owne profession and vow which was once made to God in their baptisme also?

37. When any child is thus brought to be baptized, doth he at his first comming to the Font demaund of them that bring the child whether it hath not beene already baptized, or no? remembering that reiteration or renewing of Baptisme is against the truth of God, and the order of Christ's Catholick Church? Doth he use the signe of the Crosse, and never omit it?

38. When in any case of suddaine extremitie and danger, either he or any other hath baptized a child at home in a private house, and for hast could use no ceremonie or solemnitie herein; doth he afterwards, (if the child grow well and live) cause it to be brought unto the Church, as well that the Congregation may be certified of the true baptisme thereof; as that (if need so require) a due supply may be made of all thinges before omitted either in the matter, or the forme, and the solemne administration of so great a Sacrament?

39. When all the forme of Baptisme is ended, doth he exhort the Godfathers and Godmothers to see that the infant may be afterwards brought up in the knowledge, and in the practise also, of a Christian life, according to the vow by them made? And doth he then also commaund, that assoone as any child hath learned the principles of religion, it be brought unto the Bishop to be *confirmed* by prayer and imposition of hands?

40. After the Divine Service ended, doth he goe into the vestry, or call for the Register Booke, and there in the presence of the Churchwardens doth he write the name of the child which he hath that day baptized, mentioning the names and surnames aswell of the naturall as of the spirituall fathers thereof, together with the dayes wheron the child was both borne and borne againe?

Cap. VI. *Touching the Catechising of Children, and their Confirmation.*

41. Whether doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate, take diligent care, upon every Sunday and Holy Day, streight after noone, to be ready in the Church, and there for an houre, or half an houre at least, before Evensong, to teach and examine the youth of your Parish in that Catechisme which is set forth with the forme of Confirmation, and by Law only appointed?

42. Doth he not neglect this Catechisme of the Church, and appoint his parishioners to learne and follow some other

Catechismes, framed either by outlandish persons abroad, or by private persons at home; whereby the people may be brought to many novelties and errors in religion?

43. Doth he openly warne such as be parents to send their children, and such as be masters or dames to send their servants, unto the Church, at the time and houre before mentioned, that there they may be instructed accordingly in the principles of Christ's religion, and learne both what service they owe to God, what dutie to their Prince, what reverence to their superiours, and what love and charitie to all people whatsoever?

44. But specially doth he give open warning unto all the young people of his parish, both man and womankind, that by the lawes and canons of this realme, they may none of them all either be admitted unto the Holy Communion, or be suffred to marry, or be receyved for a Godfather or Godmother to a child in Baptisme, unlesse they can first say their Catechisme, and readily make apt answeres unto all the parts thereof; and afterwards be confirmed by the Bishop?

45. Doth he take further care that all such (and no other) as be perfectly taught and instructed in these principles of their Christian religion may in due time be presented unto the Bishop, for him to lay his hands upon, according to the example of the Holy Apostles, and by him to be confirmed or strengthned in that holy life and faith which they have undertaken to professe?

Cap. VII. *Touching the Administration of the Holy Communion.*

1. Whether doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate (being a Priest), frequently celebrate, and in such religious wise as becommeth him, duly administer the Holy Supper of the Lord unto his people? or in case he hath not yet taken the order of Priesthood, doth he procure the same to be celebrated by others that are lawfull ministers ordeyned therunto, and that so often, as every parishioner (not debarred from it) may receive and communicate three times in every yeere at the least, (of which Easter time to be alwayes one,) not refusing to celebrate the same at other times also, when he shall perceive a sufficient number of the people religiously disposed and fitted thereunto?

Frequent Administration of the Lord's Supper.

2. Doth he give publick notice and warning in the Church, the Sunday before every Communion, inviting and exhorting his parishioners, in the name of God, duly to prepare themselves for the celebration and receiving of those heavenly mysteries? When any [of] the people are negligent and slack in their comming, doth

Exhortation before the Communion.

he invite and stirre them up by reading the Exhortation prescribed for that purpose? Doth he farther admonish and exhort his parishioners, (as by the Book he is appointed to doe) that if any of them have their consciences troubled and disquieted with sinne, they shold first resort unto him, or to some other learned and discreet Minister of God's Word, and opening their grief, receive from him such ghostly counsell and comfort as thereby they may be relieved, and receive the benefit of absolution to the quieting of their conscience, and to the avoiding of all scruple and doubt in their comming to this Blessed Sacrament? And at the same or at other times, whether in sicknes or in health, when any man doth confesse his secret or hidden sinnes to the Minister, with intent and purpose to disburden his conscience, and to receive such spirituall consolation from him; know you, or have you heard, that your Minister hath againe revealed to any man any such crime or offence committed to his trust and secrecie, contrary to the CXIII Canon?

3. Whether hath your Minister debarred or put back any of his parishioners from the Holy Communion, upon his owne private pleasure and malice, or for any light occasion; such as are not publickly infamous for some notorious crime denounced against them, and stand unreconciled to God and the Church?

4. Hath he admitted thereunto any that come from other parishes, without leave first obteyned; any excommunicated persons; any that refuse to be present at other Divine Service; any that cannot say their Catechisme; any Churchwarden, or Sideman, who (without regard of his solemne and great oath) hath at any time willingly neglected to present any such notorious defects, offences, and scandalls, as either he knew himself, or whereof he was told, and had notice given him for that purpose, by some of his neighbours, by his Minister, or by his Ordinarie?

5. Doth he reverently blesse and consecrate the Elements of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Bloud? Doth he first receive the same himselfe devoutly and upon his knees? Doth he then deliver the same unto other Ministers (if any be present), and afterwards to the people, severally, using the whole forme of words prescribed, unto every one of them; and doth he deliver the same unto none but such only as with due and humble reverence are kneeling upon their knees?

6. Whether doth he use any Bread and Wine that is newly brought, before it be presented upon the Holy Table, and by the words of institution blessed and designed to that sacred use?

7. Doth he suffer none of the Communicants to take their ease and pleasure, to rise from their devotions, and fall to talke and to discourse together in the Church during the time of this holy action, or to depart and goe their wayes before it be fully ended, to the offence of God, the scandall of the Church, and the contempt of his Blessed Sacrament? And doth he call upon the Churchwardens at this time specially to attend their office, and to be vigilant against such ungodlines and disorder?

8. Doth he use the whole forme of prayers appointed for the celebration of this Holy Mysterie, and none other, or otherwise then the Book hath ordered the same? Doth he at any time (or the Minister assisting him) administer the same without a Surplice faire and cleane upon him? Doth he stand at the north side of the Table, and performe all things there, but when he hath speciall cause to remove from it, as in reading and preaching upon the Gospell, or in delivering the Sacrament to the Communicants, or other occasions of the like nature?

9. Doth he carefully see to the preparation of the Bread and Wine before every Communion, that they be pure and wholesome, that they be decently presented and placed upon the Table, that the quantitie thereof may be answerable to the number of his Communicants, and that he prepareth or blesseth not twice as much as shall suffice, either to have it home to his house, or to tarry behind in the Church, there with other people, in profane and common manner, to eate and to drinke at the Lord's Table, and in the House of God.

Cap. VIII. *Touching the Solemnization of Matrimony.*

1. Whether hath your Minister or Curate at any time solemnized Matrimonie betweene any of his parishioners or others, in any other manner, words, or forme, then is in the Book of Common Prayer appointed? Hath he married any before the Banes were duly published three severall Sundayes or Holydaies in the Church, and in the time of Divine Service? or before certificate first received therof from the Curate of another parish, if either of the persons that are to be married dwell not in his owne? or in any times prohibited, (that is to say) in Advent, Lent, and in the Rogations, without a licence first obteyned from the Archbishop or his Chancellour?

2. Hath he married any persons in a private house, or secretly in a corner, out of the face of the Church and Congregation? or before the houre of eight, or after the houre of twelve in the forenoone?

3. Hath he married any under the age of xxi yeeres, before

the consent of their parents or governours first to him signified and knowne? or any that cannot yet say their Catechisme? or any that are within the degrees of affinitie, prohibited by the laws of God and his Church? or any that hath an husband or wife yet living, whether divorced and put asunder, or otherwise?

4. Doth he marry any without a ring, and without using the ceremonie therunto belonging? Hath he his surplice upon him when he doth at any time solemnize a marriage? Doth he performe it in the body of the Church first, and afterwards with the Clark (saying the Psalme appointed) lead the married couple up towards the Table of the Lord, there causing them reverently to kneele before the Table, while he shall duly say the prayers and read the Gospell, together with the Exhortation, and be ready also to proceede unto the Communion, as in the Book is prescribed and set downe?

5. Doth he enter the marriage into the Register book, in faire and full manner, expressing the names and surnames, the day, &c.

Cap. IX. *Touching the Visitation of the Sick.*

1. Whether doth your Minister diligently visit the sick persons of his parish, when notice therof is given unto him? Doth he use the Prayers and Exhortations set forth for that purpose? Doth he instruct, help, and comfort them? Doth he cause them to professe the Articles of their faith? Doth he, upon due confession and repentance of their sinnes, absolve them in that prescript forme which is appointed by the Booke? Doth he deliver them the Holy Sacrament, when they desire it, for the benefit and strengthning of their soules? And doth he administer the same reverently, in some convenient and selected place of the house, all things requisite thereunto being first in decent manner prepared? Doth he move them to forgive, and ask forgiveness of, all men; to make their testaments, to remember the poore, and to doe other workes of charitie according to their abilitie? And when any of them are passing out of this life, is not your Minister at that time slack or backwards in doing his last dutie for them, and commending their soules into the hands of God?

Cap. X. *Touching the Buriall of the Dead.*

1. Whether doth your Minister burie the dead according to the full forme, manner, and rites, prescribed in the Book, meeting the corps at the Church-stile, and in his surplice? saying or singing that which is appointed until they come to the grave?

and there in decent manner seing the corps interred, with the Lessons and Prayers for that purpose ordeyned?

2. Doth he refuse or deferre to bury any that ought to be interred in Christian buryall? or doth he presume to bury any that by the Canons and laws of the Church ought not to be so interred, such as be obstinate recusants, and persons excommunicate with the major excommunication for some grievous and notorious crime, whereof no man is able to testifie their repentance and absolution?

3. Doth he enter every buriall, with the day of the death, &c., into the Register.

Cap. XI. *Touching the Churching of Women.*

1. Doth your Minister duly observe the order and forme prescribed in churching of women after childbirth? Is the same done publikely and reverently in the Church, the woman comming in that decent and grave attire which hath bin accustomed, and the Minister attending in his surplice, causing her to kneele neere the place where God's Table standeth, and to make her thanksgiving and her offring, as is prescribed?

2. Doth he admit any woman unlawfully begotten with child to be churched, before she hath openly acknowledged her offence to God and the Church, according to the appointment of the Ordinarie?

Cap. XII. *Touching the Commination.*

1. Whether doth your Minister at certaine times of the yeere, as, for order's sake, yeerly upon one of the 3 Sundaies next before Easter, upon one of the 2 Sundaies next before Pentecost, and upon one of the 4 Sundaies in Advent, and specially at the beginning of Lent, upon Ash-wedensday, plainly and distinctly read the forme of Commination against sinners, with the prayers thereunto annexed; causing his parishioners for that purpose to be called unto the Church together, after Morning Prayer, by the ringing of a bell: and first saying the Letanie after the accustomed manner, and in the usuall place of the Church appointed by the Injunctions? Doth he from thence goe into the pulpit, and read the generall sentences of God's curses against impenitent sinners, with the exhortations annexed before and after the same; and, when that is ended, doth he returne to the place of saying the Letanie, and with the Clarke and people kneeling, doth he humbly and devoutly say the Psalme *Miserere mei Deus*, with the prayers following, as they be set forth, and no otherwise? And in performance herof doth he

weare his surplice, as at this and at all other times of executing his office in the Church he is bound and commanded to doe?

CAP. XIII. *Touching the Rogations and Perambulations.*

1. Whether doth your Minister observe the Rogation dayes, and goe the perambulation or circuit of your parish, with the Clark and the Churchwardens, or others, using therin no other procession but to say or sing the English Letanie, and the two Psalmes beginning *Benedic anima mea Domino*, that is to say, the 103 and the 104 psalme, together with such sentences of Scripture as be appointed by the Injunction, to admonish the people that they preserve to every man his owne bounds, and to put them in mind, at certaine convenient places, that either they give their bounden thankes unto God Almightie, for the encrease of his fruits upon the earth, if there be plentie, or otherwise that they pray for his grace and favour, if there be scarcetie? And doth he performe all these thinges gravely and reverently, as well without profanes and disorders, as without any superstitious and abolished ceremonies? Rogation Dayes.

2. And at his returne with the people to the Church, doth he there say the Common Prayers, and preach, or read the Homily of Thanksgiving prescribed and set forth for that purpose?

CAP. XIV. *Touching divers other duties of the Minister.*

1. Whether doth your Minister keep a true note of persons in your parish excommunicate, and denounce them once a month upon Sunday in service time? [*In margine*,—Refer it to the service time after the 2d. Lesson.]

2. Doth your Minister carefully look to the relief of the poore, and from time to time call upon his parishioners to give almes according to their abilitie? [*In margine*,—Refer it to the service after the Gospell, &c.]

CAP. XV. *Of Preaching, Lecturing, and reading of Homilies.*

1. Whether is your Minister an allowed Preacher, approved and licensed therunto, either by the Archbishop of York, or by one of the Universities of this realme, under their writing and seale? And have you seene any such licence?

2. If no such licence be yet granted or given him, whether doth he procure a sermon to be preached in your Church, every month at the least, by them that are lawfully allowed, and admitted thereunto, and by none els; upon other Sundayes reading

some Homily to the people for that purpose prescribed, and not presuming otherwise to step up of his owne head, and to preach or to expound the Scripture, untill he be sent and appointed, and rightly authorized to doe the same?

3. If any such licence hath bin given him, whether is it large, or limited, extended to all the diocesse, or restrayned to his owne cure and the churches neere adjoyning? Doth he not stretch his licence beyond the bounds and limits of it, preaching abroad in such places where no autoritie hath allowed him? Or doth he otherwise wilfully neglect to put such licence as he hath into due execution, that is, preach every Sunday in his owne cure, or in some other neighbouring Church, when at any time they want a preacher there?

4. Whether doth he suffer any other Minister to preach in your Church, but such only as doe first appeare unto him (by shewing their licence) to be sufficiently autorized and appointed thereunto?

5. Have you any Lecturer in your Church, one or more, who is neither your Parson, Vicar, nor Curate? Is he and every of them lawfully allowed and settled among you, or doth they travell about the country from one Church to another? How often doth he or any of them lecture with you, and by what autoritie? At what houres be their lectures kept? And what might their stipend be, or who payes them their wages?

6. Whether is your Minister and Lecturer (or he that at any time respectively preacheth for them) alwaies present, attending and assisting at the Divine Service of the Church, untill the Sermon begin? or is it not otherwhiles their custome to absent themselfes from the Congregation, to stay at home, or to walk abroad, or to retire into the vestrie, till all or great part of the Service be done?

7. Whether doth your Minister, Lecturer, or Curate, cause the Service to be shortened, or any part thereof to be omitted, by reason of any sermon that they or others doe preach among you?

8. Whether doth your Minister, Lecturer, or Curate, at the beginning of every sermon and homilie which they make or read in your Church, use that uniforme manner of moving the people to joyne with them in prayer, which is prescribed by the Injunctions and Canons, not presuming to introduce any publick forme of prayer into the Church which is of their owne devising only, and dissonant from the rule wherunto they are tyed? Therin doe they alwaies set forth the most just stile and royall title of our Soveraigne Lord the King, acknowledging his supremacie and dominion over all persons Ecclesiasticall and civill, in those words which the lawes and canons doe prescribe? Doe they

exhort the people to pray for him and for the Queene, with the Prince Elector Frederic and the Lady Elizabeth, &c., for all the severall estates of the realme, and for the welfare of Christ's Holy Catholick Church, here militant upon the earth; in the end praysing God for them which are already departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and ever concluding with the Lord's Prayer?

9. Doe they in their severall sermons and lectures set forth the true faith and religion of Christ in the undoubted and fundamentall truths therof? Doe they not use to soare too high, and meddle with unrevealed mysteries? Are they discreet and grave, not light and humorous in their preaching? Doe they seeme to foresee with diligence the matters wherupon they are to treat, and not presume to step up, and preach *quicquid in buccam?* Are they not otherwhiles meddling with civill matters in rude and undecent reviling of persons, or otherwise given to any bitter and rayling invectives? But doe they chiefly labour to exhort the people unto obedience, peace and unitie, teaching them a godly, righteous, and a sober life? And doe they observe his Majestie's religious Injunctions lately prefixed before the Articles of the Church, declaring to the people God's promisses as they be generally set forth in holy Scripture, and raising no curious or unnecessarie questions to the perplexing of men's consciences, and to the disquieting of the Church's peace?

10. Whether doe you know, or heare it famed, that in their Sermons, Lectures, or otherwise they broach any new and strange doctrines, or any old and condemned heresies? that they teach the people religiously to observe and believe any thing but what is agreable to the manifest rules of Holy Scripture, and hath from thence bin first collected by the ancient Fathers and old godly Bishops of the Church? that they preach any thing repugnant to the first foure Generall Councells, or to the Articles of Religion set forth in the Nationall Synode of this Church, A°. 1562°? that they deliver ought, either privily or openly, to the depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, of consecrating Bishops, and ordeyning Priests and Deacons; of the Injunctions, Canons, and Constitutions of the Church, or to the religion, discipline, government, and orders therin established, affirming the same, or any part therof, to be unlawfull and superstitious vanities, popish and anti-christian ceremonies? And yet, nevertheles, doe they religiously and seriously labour to keep from the people as well the superstitious and grosse errors of the Papist, as the profane and wild madnesse of the Anabaptist, whose ofspring be the Puritans?

[*Cætera desunt.*]

LXX.—From Richard Mountagu to Archdeacon Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 43.]

Sir,

God Almightie blesse you in your journey, and send you and yours hether agayne in peace. I will not fayle, *σὺν Θεῷ δ' εἰπεῖν*, upon Saturday. Soner I can not, and returne spedily I must; for when I come I can not say I shall see my wife alive att my returne. She is in extremity with the stone, and being nere her time, we are att our witts' end howe or what to apply. God must *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς* send me helpe, or *ἀπόλλυμαι*. Consider my case, and you will imagine how unfitt I am to come, yet come I must. Pray for my wife, and so you shall for me. I can say no more but *Vale*.

Your ever assured,
R. M.

Holy Thursday, [1627.]

"To the wᵗˡ. my worthy frend Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att Durham house, be these."

LXXI.—From the Same to the Same. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 21.]

Jhon, I trust you are well in helth with yours. Since your going downe I have not been att London. The Dʳ. was with me att Windsore to christen my young son Stephen, but could relate nothing from you, nor since your decesse * have I heard *οὐδὲ γρ,ῦ* or *μὺ*, or *ἰῶτα*. We did in the country talk strangly of your booke before it was commen †. But now, for ought I heare, *σεσίγηται*. What they say att London *οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι*, only this, you left order I should have 3, and I could scarce gett one ‡, which I gave my daughter Stokes. The L: Duke § was att his journye's end upon Friday last, as I was told, the King should say; a signe he went not farr: for some parte of Fraunce,

* Departure.

† He probably means *come*, or *published*.

‡ A contemporary proof of the rarity of the first edition of Cosin's *Hours of Prayer*.

§ The Duke of Buckingham, who sailed upon his expedition to the Isle of Rhè on June 27, 1627, where he landed about July 10.—Dugdale's Baron. iii. 430.

doubtlesse. Our Deane of Windsore is dead *, and was buried July 1°. I am hastning to Pettworth so soune as the King is past, who wilbe with us July 6°, and stay iiii nights, nor intend I to return till Alhallowtide, by which time Dr. Lindsell tells me you wilbe back agayne, and your Deane †, which *factum bene*. For beside that *Ecclesia opus habet*, I can sometime heare from you, from Lindsell never, except I write for some occasion to him. I am nowe in the course of my Lectures come to the point of falling from Grace; which, when I have dispatched, I end, and give over the Lectures att Michaelmas. I shall not Calvinise it, nor yet Arminianise it, but with the Church of England, Augustin and Prosper, go the middle way. I heare of no offence taken, but many mouths stopped. Mr. Neve ‡ commends him to you, and is with me every day, takeing payne about a work which he intends in his profession, for the Garter, which shall not come forth without a legend of S. Georg, *σὺν Θεῷ*. Fare you well, pray for us, as we do and will for you.

Yr. assured ever,

Ri. Mountagu.

Windsore, July 2, [1627.]

"To the wll. my worthy frend, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke, att his Canonry at Durham.

"Leave it with the Porter of Durham house to be sent downe."

LXXII.—Observations upon Dr. Cosin's Book, entitled The Hours of Prayers. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. 1627. lxxviii. 19.]

There is a booke, entituled *The howers of Prayer*, sett forth by Doctor Cosens, with the approbation of the Bishop of London, in which, among other, there is a prayer to be sayd for a man after his soule is departed. Upon complaint made of this, and other passages in the said booke, it was sayd for excuse that the fault was committed by the printer, who had mistaken the copie by which hee printed, in that part, in such manner as I have noted in one of the bookes. This excuse was then accepted,

* Henry Beaumont (*olim* Dean of Peterborough) is said by Le Neve (p. 376) to have died *July* 30, 1627; but the incorrectness of that date is proved by this Letter. His death no doubt took place on *June* 30.

† Richard Hunt, Dean of Durham from 1620 to 1638.

‡ William Le Neve, Clarenceux, whose collections are quoted by Ashmole, in his History of the Order of the Garter, fol. London, 1672.

although it was thought strainge and unluckie by manie men that the printer should mistake just in such words, in severall lynes, which made soe notable and pernicious a difference in the sence. And, accordingly, there was order then given for the callinge in of the bookes which had been soe misprinted, and for the reprinting of them, with certaine amendments in that and other passages in which the printer had mistaken. Upon this callinge in of the bookes, of which there had ben then but one impression of some 200*, for such persons on whom they were bestowed by the author and his freinds, (as I have ben told, and was generally sayed) the price of those faultie bookes was raysed to tenn, twelve shillings, and hiegher, where ever they could be gotten. And soe they continued a while, beinge very hard to bee gotten. But of late they have ben to bee sould almost in every shopp in London, and at the same price with those which are printed according to the corrected copie. Besides, it is manifest, by comparinge severall bookes togeather, that there have ben twoe impressions of the faultie bookes, as may be made appeare undenyably. As alsoe that there hath ben three impressions of the bookes, faultie and corrected. If therefore there were but one impression of some 200 of them before the amendment, then it is plaine they are since imprinted both wayes, faulty and correct, and soe vented; notwithstanding the prohibition: or if the seconnd impression were passed before the complaint and reformation made of them, then, as it is more strainge that the printer should faile twisse in the same places, and that those faults of his should never have ben observed by the overseer of the presse, nor by the author till complaint was made of the booke, soe it is certaine, alsoe, that the said printer doth nowe sell that seconnd impression which was forbidden, as well as the third.

Indorsed:—"Observations on the Booke of Howers of Prayer."

Further indorsement in Laud's hand:—"Delivered to mye L^d. Conwaye, *God knowes bye whom*, and bye his L^p. sent to his Maiestye. Septeb: 13, 1627."

Subsequent indorsement:—"It was delivered by S^r Francis Nethersole."

"¶ Dr. Cosens."

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* "It is said some fifteen hundred more of Mr. Cosin's Prayer Books, called 'the Hour Prayers, or Devotion of the Church of England,' are commanded to be printed, whereas at first there were but a hundred and fifty to be distributed for private use, but now, by the jealousies and rash censures of the people, will be made public, and perhaps in that respect offensive, howsoever the same, or the like, was twice printed for the use of private devotions, by authority, in the first years of Queen Elizabeth."—Letter to Jos. Meade, May 16, 1627. Court and Times of Charles I. vol. i. p. 227.

LXXIII.—The Objections which some have been pleased to make against a Booke intituled the Houres of Praier: with briefe Answeres thereunto.* [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. lxv. 72.]

1. Objection. In the frontispiece the Name of IHS is engraven, which is the Jesuit's marke.

Answer. That Name was in honour amonge the Christians long before eyther Jesuits or Papists were knowen; for which cause there is a speciall day for memorie of this Name preserved in our Calendar, upon the seaventh of August. It is a Name of all others the most comfortable that wee can eyther thinke or looke upon in the frontispeice of a Praier-Booke. For it giveth us occasion to consider, that all the prayers which wee are to make must be made in the Name of our Saviour. This manner allso of engraving it is somewhat different from that which the Jesuits use, with the signe of the crosse over it. And yet, with that very signe over it, it is embroydered upon most pulpitt clothes in London, even in those parishes where there is no feare of Poperie at all. There it offends not. Why should any offence be taken at it here? Besides, the Name of Jehovah standeth thus engraven at the beginning of our Bibles and service-bookes, and many others. Why not Jesus, as well as Jehovah, with letters abbreviated?

2. *Ob.* The title of the Booke is displeasing, being called *The Houres,* which is both a Popish, and a Jewish terme.

Ans. Houres of Praier were in use among the best Christians, long before Poperie came in. The places of the auncient writers are collected and sett before every Houre of this Booke for that purpose. As for the Jewes, it was their commendation, and not their fault, that they served God duely at set houres and tymes of the day. Neither had they this from the cerimoniall law, but from the law of nature and equitie: that since God had given them so many houres of the day for their owne affaires, they

* The Editor places this Paper next in order on account of the direct relation it bears to the subject of the preceding one. Strictly speaking, it belongs to the year 1628, for it appears to embody the objections contained in the works published respectively by Prynne and Burton in that year, under the following titles:—*A Brief Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozens his couzening Devotions. By William Prynne.* 1628: and *A Tryall of private Devotions, or a Diall for the Houres of Prayer. By H. B.* [*Henry Burton*], *Rector of St. Mathewe's, Friday Street.* London: 1628. There can be little doubt of the Answers in this Paper having been drawn up by Cosin, though it is not entirely in his handwriting. It appears to be a fair copy, made for Bishop Neile's use, but it contains many interlineations and additions in Cosin's hand. The quaint asperity of style in some of the Answers is unmistakably Cosin's.

should give Him some houres back againe, at least for his service; which made the Apostles also continue it also in their tymes, and by their godly example commend it to ours. There are that answered the Objection after this manner:—Why not the *Houres of Praier*, as well as the *Crumms of Comfort*, a booke lately published with that title?

3. *Ob.* In the Preface, (page 11, line 14), by the words "the Spiritt of God and the Holy Ghost," there seemes to be a fourth Person of the Deitie brought in, and the Holy Ghost to be distinguished from *the Spiritt of God*.

Ans. Wee often say of Christ, The Redeemer of the world *and* the Saviour of mankind: yet wee hope that the particle here (*and*) maketh not the *Saviour* and the *Redeemer* to be two different Persons. Indeed it had bene enough to have said *the Spiritt of God*, and no more; but the Holy Ghost was added as an amplification of His glorious Title, and withall to shew the opposition betweene *that Ghost*, and *ghosts of our owne*, which words follow within a few lines after.

4. *Ob.* In the Calendar there are many *red letters*, which is a Popish fashion of printing bookes.

Ans. Ther is our Common-Prayer-Booke to be accused of Poperie, in which there be many *red letters* also. And why should not red letters be made for distinction sake? The Collector did it, (as all other collectors of a Calendar had before him) for the ease of the reader: but he blusheth at their weaknes that make this poore objection of *red letters*.

5. *Ob.* And this is made by some Papists. In the second of February, the Blessed Virgin is called but "the Virgin Mary," and likewise upon the 25th of March. They say we might have call'd her "Mistris Mary," at least, or somewhat: but plaine "Mary" was too homely a terme for her.

Ans. Wee say that, if here be any error, the Apostles' Creed is as guiltie of it as the Calendar, where she is called "the Virgin Mary" and no more. [*In margine*, "Borne of y^e^. Virgin Mary."] Neither indeed can there be a title of greater honour given her than to be called "*the* VIRGIN," *per eminentiam*, that is, such a Virgin as never was the lyke. Wee say, further, that this hindreth not any other name or title of respect (whereof she is capable); and that if they please to look further into the booke, at the Collect upon the Purification Day, they shall finde her called "the *Blessed* Virgin," and in the first forme of Praiers and Thanksgiving, (page 109*), they may read with what due

* This reference is wrongly given. In an edition of 1627, which is before the Editor, the passage is found at p. 397. Cf. Cosin's works (published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), vol. ii. p. 323.

honour and regard we commemorate her happie name, calling her "the Glorious and most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ," and ranking her withall before the holy angells of heaven. Beyond this we goe not. We dare not, for Divine honour is not due to her.

6. *Ob.* Upon the 16th day of December *O Sapientia* is said to be an Antheeme aunciently sung in the Church, &c., and yet the Papists fram'd it.

Ans. Wee know Christ was called the Wisdome of his Father from the beginning, and we suppose that seeing this, and many other the lyke Hymnes, were aunciently used in our Churches for the honour and praise of our Blessed Saviour, had there bene nothinge els found wherewith to condemne the Papists but this, they had gone free without blame. In some men that sung this Antheeme there might be peradventure vanitie and superstition; in the Antheeme it selfe there was, there is, there can be none, no more then in the *Magnificat*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, or the Psalmes of David, which they also sunge in those tymes.

7. *Ob.* The Calendar makes mention of too many Saints, whereof some be doubtfull, whether they were not only any Saints, but any men or no: as St. George, &c.

Ans. This is to condemne the whole Church and State of England, who, in their Calendar before the Book of Common Praier, have preserved the names of just so many Saints' daies as before sett downe, neither more or lesse. As for the doubtfull Saints, St. George, and the lyke, there is more good proofe to be made of them then these objectors (being not acquainted with the Ecclesiastical stories) doe yet know of; but by God's grace in tyme to come may be better informed herein.

8. *Ob.* The old names of Holy Crosse, Rogations, Embers, Eves, &c., are renewed.

Ans. Not renewed, for we never lost them. They be names that holy Christians were used unto of old tyme, before Poperie came in; and our Church at the Reformation cast not away her good customes with her bad, nor forwent her religion and Christianitie with her Poperie, but lett passe the one that was new, and preserved the other that was old. Neither ought any man to be offended with these names, that are preserved for no other purpose but to putt us in minde of our holy and Christian dueties in the service of Almightie God.

9. *Ob.* In the sixt offence against the third Comandment, vowes are graunted to be lawfully made.

Ans. And so they are, being solemnly, duely, and deliberatly made. Even Mr. Perkins [*In margine,* Cases of Consc:] him-

selfe will confesse as much, whome these objectors I suppose will not hastily condemne*.

10. *Ob.* In the second duetie of the 4th Comandment, Christ is said to have instituted the observation of our Sunday, or the Lord's Day; whereas it was instituted after His Ascention, by the Apostles.

Ans. The very name of the day, being called *The Lord's Day*, were enough to answere this objection, for why is it called the Lord's Day, but because the Lord made it; as we singe upon Easter Day, psalme 118, *This is the day which the Lord hath made*, and as it is more at large proved by the testimony of the auncient fathers in the Preface before Easter. Vide [*Blank in MS.*] But be it the institution of the Apostles: yet Christ by his Resurrection declared to them what they were to doe in the institution of the day.

11. *Ob.* In the fift duetie of the fourth Comandment, *giving of almes* is said to be a duetie belonging to the observation of the Lord's Day. They call it a new found duetie.

Ans. And pittie it is it should have bene lost among some men so long as all the world seis it hath bin. It was one of the chiefest exercises that the old holy Christians used upon this day: besides there is expresse Scripture for it that collections were then to be made for the poore. But charitie is too cold growen, and these men would be religious at as little cost (it seems) as might be. Of their number (we feare) they are, who were described to have (not onely to day, but all the dayes of the weeke besides) a Bible in their window, and a whip at their doore, one to turne over the leaves, and another to turne away the beggars.

12. *Ob.* In the sixt offence against the fourth Comandment, they say there is a sinne found out that the world never heard of before; for heareing of Sermons is made a breach of the Sunday.

Ans. It is a calumnie: for the breach of the day is made there to be a Jewish observation of fasts, under pretence of serving God, and especially of heareing sermons, &c. If heareing of sermons be here condemned, the Pharisis might as well have said that Christ condemned almsdeeds, because he said that under pretence of them they sought their owne praise and glory.

13. *Ob.* In the third offence against the fift Comandment, and in the sixt offence against the eight Comandment, the Collector shewis himselfe to be a flatterour and a royalist, speakeing of the King's due maintenance, &c.

Ans. That obedience to God's holy ordinance, and lowly sub-

* Perkins enters at length into the subject of vows in his *Cases of Conscience*, Book 2, Chap. i.—See his Works, Vol. ii. p. 96. Lond. 1631.

jection to the annointed of the Lord should be now by any men made flatterie, is little better then impious and hereticall.

14. *Ob.* That there should be any precepts called the Precepts of the Church, as in the second title after the Commandments, is Popish.

Ans. These men should doe well to finde themselves a Church which would putt no precepts upon them, if yet any such Church be to [be] found. There might they live as they listed, and the Churche's autoritie should not be so much envyed by them as now it is, to their great shame, and want of a true and holy humilitie.

15. *Ob.* In the fift precept of the Church, Confession is injoyned three tymes a yeare at least, under paine of damnation, which is more then ever any papist said, they injoyning it but once.

Ans. There is not in that place of the booke any mention cyther of *Confession* or of any *paine of damnation.* That which is said to be three tymes a yeare injoyned is, the receiving of the Blessed Sacrament, and that which is added, for better preparation thereunto, by unburthening the conscience, and takeing advise, togeather with the benefitt of absolution, is no more then the Communion-Booke enjoyns us preists to exhort all men unto, (as occasion is) and the same words whereof two learned and famous Bishops of this land (no Papists) framed an Article to inquire, and visitt their diocesses withall, and to punish the neglectors of so holy a dutie. See the marginal quotation.*

16. *Ob.* In the next division there be numbered seven sacraments of the Church. And this was generally noysed to be the tytle of the booke, and the subject whereupon all the discourse and praiers there were framed. Seven Sacraments must needs be Poperie (they say) in any sense.

Ans. The words there extracted from the Catechisme [*In margine,* w^ch^ nameth two] and from the Articles [*In marg*: w^ch^ name the other five, as they are comonly so called] make these two propositions, and no more:—1) That there are but two Sacraments that are truely so called, as generally belonging to the salvation of all. 2) That there be other five that are commonly so called, but not so truely, as haveing not the nature, institution, force, power, or dignitie, that the two true Sacraments, and properly so called, have. So it is a calumnie to say that the Booke maketh mention of seven sacraments promiscuously, or numbreth them altogether in a lump, as if the other five had a common nature, as well as they have sometymes a common

* The quotation referred to is as follows in the edition of 1627:—"Rubrick at the end of the Communion. The second Exhortation to be read before the Communion. Bishop Overal's, and Bishop Andrew's Articles in the Visitation of their Diocesse." Cf. Cosin's Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 121.

name, with the two true ones, Baptisme and the Lord's Supper. For, though they be all called Sacraments, that is, Holy Misteries of our Religion; yet are they not all generally necessary to salvation, nor have they all the same institution, power, or a visible element, ordeined by Christ, as the two proper Sacraments have, according to St. Austin's definition, *Accedat verbum ad*, &c. In the meane while, most evident it is that the Church of England, in a large sense, hath given unto these misteries the *name* of Sacraments divers tymes, as in her Homilie of the Sacraments, and in her Rubrick after the Communion, where every Parishoner, that is *baptised* is also bound to receive *the Communion*, and the *other* Sacraments and Rites, &c. So Matrimonie in the solemnization thereof is called *a great misterie*. Besides, in the very Act of Parliament, 1° Elizab: there is as much acknowledged as all this comes unto; where every Minister is injoyned, after the order now sett fourth in the Booke of Common-Prayer, to administer the Lord's Supper, and *each other* of the Sacraments; which must of necessitie in some sence imply more than two. And indeed it cannot be denyed but that, next after Baptisme and the Lord's Supper, the Church of England hath ever given a preheminence and a most reverend regard to these five sacramentall misteries of our Christian Religion, as touching the substance of them: [*In margine*: for as for many ceremonies in them, and especially the ceremony of extreme unction in the Visitation of the Sick, it is now but a corrupt imitation of the Apostles.] making them the other subjects and parts of her publique Liturgie, and due service to Almightie God. Insomuch that these men, who labour thus to vilifie and debase the lawfull estimation of these five misterious and religious rites of our Church, (excepting allwaies the ceremony of extreme unction, and other ceremonies not now reteyned) may seeme to have forgotten their duetie to their Holy Mother the Church of England, and to have presented their service unto some other congregation.

17. *Ob.* A little after, there are seaven deadly or notorious sinnes numbred, and said to be commonly so called.

Ans. Why this should be accounted any fault no reason can tell us, unlesse they would have us condemne all the world, those 7 sinnes being acknowledged by every man to be the notorious and common sinnes of the wicked, from which God deliver us.

18. *Ob.* The Lord's Praier is not compleat, for it wants the Doxologie: *Thine is the Kingdome, &c.*

Ans. The seaven petitions are compleat without this, which neverthelesse any Christian may adde of their private devotion, if it please them. But if it be a fault here to omit it, it is a fault

also in St. Luke's Gospell, and in our Common-Praier-Booke, where it is never mentioned.

19. *Ob.* The words *Matins* and *Evensong* are popish words.

Ans. The more to blame they, then, that in the Acts of Parliament, and in the Booke of Common-Praier used them so frequently; but well they know that *Matins* and *Evensong* were old, good, and ecclesiasticall terms, and they that are weary of them doe but betray their owne ignorance, aswell in the practice of the auncient as of our present Church.

20. *Ob. Alleluiah, Venite, Antiphona,* Verses, Responds, Compline, and Hymnes, are all reliques of Poperie and superstition.

Ans. The termes are taken from Scripture, and from the bookes of devotion publiquely authorized in our Church, which to condemne of Popish superstition let them guesse what sinne it is. As for the Compline, it is but the true English word of *Completorium,* which was set fourth for the finishing and makeing our daily private praiers compleat and full, by the authoritie of Q.[ueen] Elizabeth, whose minde was far from superstition and poperie.

21. *Ob. Nunc dimittis* and *De profundis,* two papisticall songes.

Ans. The one of them is in St. Luke, and the other in K.[ing] David's Psalter, word for word. It were too much honour for them to say that Papists, who rose up but this other day, were as auncient as the Evangelists or the Prophets.

22. *Ob.* Lent is made a religious fast. (Pag. 234.)

Ans. Or els all the Church, since Christ's tyme, hath bene quite and cleane deceived, for they ever made it so. And our owne Church, by her religious service at the beginning of Lent, proclaimes as much.

23. *Ob.* The Lord's Supper is called "the Blessed Sacrament" and "the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood"; which may be an occasion to confirme the Papists in their superstitious opinions of that Sacrament.

Ans. Never were the Papists accompted superstitious for goeing thus farr, had they presumed no further: and well may they be accompted prophane that take any exception at it. Wee thinke it will rather be an occasion to bringe those ignorant popish people to us that are made believe by fonde priests wee vilifie the Blessed Sacrament, which our Church hath ever accompted most worthy of all due honour and regard; still calling it in her Liturgie the Holy Misteries of Christ's Body and Blood, the Flesh of Thy dear Sonne, the drinking of His Blood, &c., which sayings, to a heavenly and spirituall minded Christian, are so farr from being offensive, that they rather fill him with aboundance of joy and comfort, both for his soule and body.

24. *Ob.* "Prostrate before the Altar": (Pag. 4*.) whereas we have no Altar.

Ans. And yet Saint Paule saith wee have: Heb. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, &c.*

25. *Ob.* Pag. 10†. There is a praier made that our supplications may be brought up into God's Heavenly Tabernacle by the ministry of his holy angells, and there are none but papists that will sett the angells to this office.

Ans. Yes, St. John (I trow) was no papist, and yet in his Revelation, chap. viii. vers. 3, 4, the angell offereth up the praiers of all saints, &c.

26. *Ob.* Confession of sinnes is made requisite, and fitt for our better preparation to the receiving of the Sacrament.

Ans. The Collector could not doe with all, since it is the direction of our owne Church, and he verily believes it is to a very godly purpose.

27. *Ob.* Pag. 15‡. Mention is made of the preist's absolution. But who can absolve except God alone?

Ans. Wee magnifie God for giving this power unto men (Joh. xx), as to all preists it is given in their ordination: *whose sinnes yow remitt, they are remitted.* And they doe it *autoritativè* too, (as by our forme of absolution, "*I absolve thee,*" appeareth) though by a delegated authoritie from God, not originall in themselves: whereupon we say, "By *his* authoritie committed unto me I absolve thee from all thy sinnes, in the Name of the Father," &c. And though novell minded men wold faine have these holy and religious misteries forgotten, yet, thanks be to God, it will not be, who of his great mercy and goodnes hath still and will no doubt for ever preserve them in his Church amonge us.

28. *Ob.* After the soule is departed there be praiers appointed to be said for the dead body.

Ans. The praier is not appointed to be said *after* the soule is departed, but *at* the same time §; the word *then* signifiing and

* In the edition of 1627 it is p. 292. Counting, however, from the separate title of the part containing "Devout Prayers that may bee used before and after the receiving of Christ's Holy Sacrament, &c.," the passage occurs on the *fourth* page. Cf. Works (Angl. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 271.

† The observation in the foregoing note applies here also, though the actual number of the page is 298. But in the edition before the Editor, the words "by the ministry of his holy angells" is not found. They appear in the edition of Cosin's Works put forth in the Anglo-Cath. Library. See vol. ii. p. 274.

‡ The part of the Book referred to is to be found at pp. 306—318 of the edition of 1627 already mentioned. Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. pp. 281—285.

§ The words are:—"The manner of commending the soule into the hands of God, at the very point of time when it is departing from the body."—Page 388. (Ed. 1627.) Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 318. At page 392 is the ejaculation:—"*Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* And these to be repeated untill the

pointing out as much: as also doth the tytle at the top of the page, "Praiers *at* the point of death," not *after* it, being praiers all belonging to one and the same action, and to one and the same tyme, when wee are praying for a dying Christian. Besides, the substance of these two praiers be nothinge els but what we all use to say, even after we heare a man is dead, *God's peace be with him*, and *God send him a joyfull resurrection*, which kind of praiers for the dead the Archbushopp of Armagh doth highly approve, and acknowledge to be the old and perpetuall practice of the Church of Christ. Indeed the printer here committed an errour, though he made no great fault, for he should have putt that direction (of *repeating the sentences untill the soule were departed*) into the margin; which, being placed as it is, occasioned this exception from them that are too ready to catch and misinterpret any thinge, though never so piously and harmlessely meant.

29. *Ob.* In the first praier and thanksgiving, (Pag. 109, 110*,) there is a heape of old Popery, and mention of Saints, and of such as are departed, &c.

Ans. Strange it is they will not suffer us to give God thankes for his glorious Saints before us, especially for the Blessed Virgin, (whose name in this praier is most enveyed at) when they can be well enough content that a girdler, and a grocer, the Lady Ramsey, and Mr. Johnson, should be every Sunday commemorated in a praier at Paule's Crosse; and the like in many other places of this realme.

30. *Ob.* In the anniversary praier upon the day of our baptisme there is offence taken that the angells and all the companie of heaven should be named as if they saw us what we did.

Ans. As good exception is there against the Communion-Booke, for saying, "*Therefore with angells and archangells, and all the companie of heaven, wee laud*, &c."

31. *Ob.* In the praier for the Ember-weeke at Advent, (Pag. 69 †,) there is petition made, that *by* the celebration of the Advent and Birth of our Saviour wee may be filled with true joy, &c., and this they say is a daingerous doctrine, whereby meritt may be mainteyned, out of the words *by the celebration*.

soule be departed. Then, *O Thou Lamb of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, grant him thy peace,*" &c.

In the second impression it was altered to:—"*Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* And these (with the prayers following) to be repeated untill the soule be departed. *O Thou Lamb of God,*" &c. Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 320.

* See pp. 397 and 398 of the edition above referred to. Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 323.

† Page 357 of the edition already referred to. Cf. Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. ii. p. 304.

Ans. The words *by* or *per* doth not signify *meritum,* but *medium,* and *instrumentum* onely. The *meritt* is reserved for a *propter,* which presently followeth in the same praier, *through* Jesus Christ our Lord, or, for the meritts of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

32. *Ob.* In the last blessing Christ's Crosse is very popishly and superstitiously called the "*Blessed Crosse,*" whereas not the Crosse, nor any other such insensible substance, can be capable of a blessing.

Ans. Let these men take heed that by their often exceptions against the Crosse that they be not found *enemies to the Crosse of Christ,* as St. Paule [*In margine,* Philip. iii. 18. 19.] complaines of some, even with teares in his eyes, that they should be so wicked. Was not the death of the Crosse a blessed death to us, whiles it was a cursed and most cruell death in it selfe? The words are "*Christ's Crosse and Passion,*" ioyned together, as in the Letanie; and I hope, what e're becomes of the Crosse, the *Passion* may be called *Blessed,* for we say no lesse of the martires then their *blessed death,* or their most happie and *blessed martyrdome;* not that it was so in it selfe, but that happines and *blessednesse* was the *fruite* and *effect* of it. But for the Crosse. In our Calendar it is called the *Holy Crosse,* which in ordinary understanding is asmuch there as *Blessed Crosse* is here. We say *holy* ground, and *holy* Table, and *holy* Font, and *holy* Temple and *hallowed* or *blessed* Church-yeard, why not *blessed Crosse* as well? Surely they that looke for any benefitt by the *Crosse* of Christ can never envy it this honour, nor be justly offended at so harmlesse and yet so usefull a saying, "*the vertue of Christ's Blessed Crosse and Passion be with me, now, and at the houre of death. Amen.*"

Indorsed (in Cosin's hand):—"For ye. Rt. Rd. and my honorable good Lord, The Lord Bishop of Durham."

Further indorsement (in another hand):—"In defence of Dr. Cosen's booke called the howers of Prayer. 1627.

LXXIV.—From Richard Mountagu to Archdeacon Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 23.]

Most kind, most loveing, most honest Mr. Archdeacon,

I am glad of your letter, gladder much would have ben of your presence. Is it but somewhat against my Lord's mind that you stay? ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν Θεὸν it is deeply against myne. It is the more, because I find in your letters no hope of following. You may be *extra anni solisque vias:* but you can not be, deceive not your self, *extra teli jactum.* Ill toungs will follow you

there, as me here, and malignant Puritans persecute you as well in the north as the south, though their edge is taken of, both for you and me, by 2 sermons which I knowe you have seen, or shall see, of Dr. Manewayrings*, which is but rebated to be more incensed, and for my part I looke one day to be sacrificed (unlesse I make my peace, as I can and may) *τῷ θηρίῳ πολυκεφάλῳ*.

You would knowe what became of me. I tell you 2 or 3 dayes hence I go farther from you, southward, to Pettworth, where, if *ætatis quod reliquum est*, I will not say *oblectem*, but *transigam meæ*, it is well. For Windsore what shalbe don I can not tell. *Θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται*. There is such reservednes in counsells and such drifts in purposes as I can not *hariolari* what wilbe don, onely that I knowe that God knoweth what I am fittest for, if I be fitt for any thinge, and lett him dispose of me as he will, *nec ambio nec ambior*. All my engagement, *ut nunc*, is for my sonne Stokes, you knowe, for Windsore, wherein my reputation lyes att stake. If this be effected, *γένοιτο τὸ γενησόμενον*. You knowe I told the Duke's Grace I was not ambitious. If you were here I would come to London, and talke with you at full. I neither can nor must write what I would. *Literis enim loquuntur*, and unlesse I be sent for I am not like to see London in hast, having given over my Lecturship and Windsore to go live at Pettworth.

But all this while I had forgotten to condole that which I can never forgett, that fitt of the stone. It is *morbus acutus*, but you see howe longe, through God's goodnes, I have wrestled with it. So may you. *Interim*, use, upon my experience, garlick, cutt so that it may be wrapped up in butter, and swallow'd as a pill. One clove will make 3 pills. Take it 3 mornings together, walke after it, absteyne for 3 mornings. Use no drying heateing tobacco.

* Roger Manwaring, a native of Shropshire, of All Souls, Oxford. He became rector of St. Giles-in-the-fields and chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I., before whom he preached two Sermons in July 1627, entitled *Religion and Allegiance, on Eccles.* viii. 2. They were published in London the same year. For these sermons, which justified the lawfulness of the King's imposition of loans and taxes upon the people without the consent of Parliament, and for another preached on the same subject in the following year, he was censured in Parliament, condemned in a fine of £1000, and disabled from the enjoyment of any office or preferment. See Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 352, and Hacket's Life of Williams, Part II. §§ 74 and 75. See also Whitelock's Memorials, i. p. 27: ed. Oxford, 1853. He made his submission on the 21st of June, 1628, and in the following month was presented by the King to the rectory of Stanford Rivers, which became void by Mountagu's promotion to the see of Chichester. On the 9th of January following he procured his pardon. In 1633 he received the Deanery of Worcester. In 1635 he became Bishop of St. David's. He died at Carmarthen July 1, 1653.

I can nott actually commend you from my wife: she is not with me, yet affectionately I knowe I may. But you may remember me, though unknowen, to your best Fran[ces,] whom, with your self, I earnestly desire and hope I shall see shortly. I want half myselfe in your absence. For Godsake, the Churches', and mine, that I may not say your owne, resolve for theise parts, and neclect not the means you have *ad me*, *μύδρον πεπυρακτουμένον*, which is the counsell of your faithfull, loveing frend.

R. M.

Novemb. 4. [1627.]

"To the right w[ll]. my most worthy freind, Mr. Ihon Cosen, Archdeacon of Yorke and Prebend of Durham, theise, at Durham."

LXXV.—From Archdeacon Cosin to Bishop Laud. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cviii. 75.]

Right Reverend and my Right Honorable good Lord, my dutie in most humble wise remembered.

The licentious libells lately printed without licence, and vented out into all parts against me, have made me the subject of every man's censure; and by them that either doe not know, or doe not affect me, I am, I know not how heavily and how hardly burdened. But being long since inured to such kinds of injurie and slander, I am the better fitted to beare it now; and knowing how forward the iniquitie of this age is to take advantage of any, though never so just, opposition, I have resolv'd to make no other answere then *Dixi, custodiam**, and to take no other revenge upon such intemperate malice then contempt and silence doth upon a scolding and unbridled tongue. Howsoever, doe what I can, I shalbe censur'd still; if I hold my peace for peace sake, there are enough that will take it as a most certaine argument that I lack what to say in mine owne defence; and if I doe but open my mouth, to say my Creed for truth's sake, there are enough to make angry informations against me that I cannot be quiet. But in the judgment of grave and sober men, I trust my credit shalbe neither one way nor other impayred, and if I may find patronage and approbation *above*, it shall not much move me what they doe or say *beneath*. For which purpose I most humbly beseech his

* Cosin probably remembered the humorous letter of Archbishop Toby Mathew to Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, who had been promised the reversion of his Archbishopric of York. It concluded with these words:—"As the Psalmist begins, so I end, *Dixi, custodiam:* I love your Lordship well, but I will keep you out of this seat as long as I can."—See Hacket's Life of Lord Keeper Williams, Part i. p. 168.

Sacred Majestie, the only Supreme Govenour . . . . . all to continue his gracious protection over me; and your Lordship's goodnes to be a meanes for the same. It is his gracious defence against the overgrowing faction, more then any private revenge, that I seek, against these two barking libellers*, whose chastisement I am bound to leave to their governement and autoritie that they have so notoriously and impudently also abused.

The accusations which they bring against me about altering of the Common Prayer Book, your Lordship can best tell how peevish and vayne they be; specially if you have called for that booke from the King's Printer, which they say I have so magisterially noted†. Some marginall directions indeed I wrote at the instant request of Bill and Norton, to be a help to them in the amending of such faults and omissions in their severall volumes, for which they had bin a little before schooled by your Lordship, upon warrant and command from his Majestie. Notes for other alterations I made not, unlesse it were here and there for the beautifying of the book with sundry characters and fairer letters then before, or for the printing of the *Pater noster* at large. There were divers false and misnamed lessons noted, [*In margine:* As the 1 Lesson at Evensong upon the day of Circumcision, and the 1 Lesson at Mattins upon the day of Epiphanie: the first of these ending where it should begin; and the 2^{d} most improperly set for a *proper lesson*, being the xl, whereas it should be the lx, of Esay, by which transposition of one letter the people in many churches are told of S. John Baptist, when they shold heare of the Gentils coming to Christ.] which in the great book they have not yet amended, and in the Calendar, where they begin to reckon the Kalends of, or before, every month, they have let the name of the month stand still in the same character and in the same order with the Saints dayes, as if Februarie and Hilarie were sainted both alike.

For the adding of the Ordination Booke, (as I often acquainted your Lordship and my Lord of Winton) it was grounded upon the Statute, An Act of Parliament made 8° Elizab. cap. I ‡.

* He alludes no doubt to the animadversions of Prynne and Burton. See *antè*, p. 127, *note*.

† Burton says, "I came but lately to see at a great printing house an old Communion Booke, scored and noted all along with this author's owne hand, where among other things, which he would have corrected, hee thinketh that those private prayers were better omitted then there added in the Communion booke."—A Tryall of private Devotions, or a Diall for the Houres of Prayer. By H. B. Rector of St. Mathewe's, Friday Street, London. 1628. Prynne also makes a somewhat similar statement.

‡ "The Ordinal had been included under the 'words of Administration of Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies,' but Bp. Bonner objected that it was not expressly named, although of course it formed an integral part of the Book of Common Prayer

which revives the Statute of King Edward the 6th*, wherby the Book of Ordination was to be, and was accordingly annexed, added and printed to and with the Book of Common Prayer, as also to have the same force, vigor, and autoritie &c. I have since look'd further into the warrant of this addition, and I find that in the last Canons and Constitutions, where by the 36 Canon we are all tyed to subscribe unto *three Articles*, the second of them runs in these termes, viz. *That the Booke of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, conteineth in* IT *nothing contrary, &c., and that* IT *may lawfully, &c.*: words which manifestly shew that our Church reckons them both to be *but one and the same Booke;* and enough, I trow, to quit me from any presumption in this behalfe, wherewith, they say, I am so generally charged. Besides, all this hath bin done in my absence from London. I was not there either to force or to oversee the presse, neither did I commend or enjoyne any thing, but intimate and direct only (as the printer requested) what shold be done, leaving him to take warrant either from his former copies or from the Acts of Parliament, or from them that were now in autoritie and place for that purpose.

These things I make bold to call unto your Lordship's remembrance, that, if need be, your honorable favour . . . . . towards me, together with your religious care of all ecclesiasticall affayres, may make use herof, for the satisfying of many great persons, who for want of knowing these things may peradventure take some exception also at that which is done.

I am now resident upon my Parsonage of Brancepeth†,

by Statute of 1552, and had been repealed together with it in 1553. However, to put an end to all such exceptions, an Act was passed September 13, 1566, 8 Eliz. cap. i. § 3, 5, confirmed by 1 Jac. I. c. xxv. § 48, authorizing the use of the Ordinal in future, and declaring that all persons that had been or should be made, ordered, or consecrated by it, were true Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."—Blunt's Annotated Book of Common Prayer (Introduction to the Ordinal), p. 536.

* "By statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI, cap. i. § 45, the form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, was annexed to the Book of Common Prayer, 'faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect.' This Act passed the House of Commons, and was returned to the Lords, April 14, 1552." [Collier, Eccles. Hist. p. iv. b. ii. Burnet. p. ii. b. i.].—Ibid.

† In the County of Durham. Cosin was presented to this living Feb. 21, 1626. Its church still contains much in its fittings which is associated with Cosin's reverent care for the House of God. A few years ago it remained precisely, in all probability, as he left it, the pewing, the Font-cover, and much other work in the Church being of his period. It was peculiarly interesting, therefore, on that account. The relative position and proportions of the pulpit and reading-desk reminded one of George Herbert's restoration of the Church of Leighton Ecclesia, where "by his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, 'They should neither have a precedency

a remote and quiet place, which I cannot name without a most lowly and thankfull remembrance aswell of my Lord Duke's noble grace as of your Lordship's honorable disposition towards me, by whose goodnes I enjoy it: and for whose length and peace of dayes I cease not here to pray even every day in God's sanctuary, as my duty is. But ceasing to withold your Lordship any longer from intending the multitude of those great affayres wherein you are (happily I doubt not) imployed, I humbly take my leave and rest.

Your Honor's most bounden
and true humble servant,
Jo. Cosin.

Brancepeth, June, 1628.

"To the Rt. Rd. Father in God, my very honorable good Lord, ye. Ld. Bp. of Bath and Wells, one of ye. Lds. of his Maties. most honble. Privie Councell, These."

LXXVI.—From Richard Mountagu to Archdeacon Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 22.]

Sir,

Your letter came too late for me to speake with any Parleament men concerning your businesse. The Session was concluded and they risen, but had it come sooner, do you thincke me gratious there, who should have ben left out of the pardon, if there had ben any, and their petition might have prevayled. I knowe no man I can build upon in that Assembly, but nor you nor I need greatly feare them, for what have we don? They cannot convent you, being a member of the Convocation. By the Statute of Hen. 6. viii° [anno, cap:] the first, the Convocation hath all the privileges of either or both houses*, which they acknowledge

or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.'"—Walton's Life of Geo. Herbert. Recent alterations have destroyed Cosin's arrangement, as regards this, which, as connected with so eminent a man, might well have been retained.

Cosin's devout celebration of the offices of the Church appears to have been a thing deemed worthy of special mention. Sir William Webb writes as follows to his kinsman Laud:—"I have been with Dr. Cosin at Branspeth, where I was three times present with him in his Church at divine prayers, and upon Tuesday last receyved the blessed Sacrament, *most reverently there administred.*"—State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. ccxliii. 33. (Letter from Sir Will. Webb to Bishop Laud. July 25, 1633).

* The words of the Statute are as follow:—Anno 8°. Henrici VI. A.D. 1429. C. I. "In primis quia prelati et clerus regni Angliæ ad convocacionem evocati, eorumque servientes et familiares qui cum eisdem ad convocacionem hujusmodi veniunt, sepius ac frequenter arrestantur, molestantur et inquietantur: Volens igitur dictus dominus noster Rex pro securitate et quiete dictorum prelatorum et Cleri in hac parte prospicere graciose, ad supplicacionem eorundem Prelatorum et

in my case, who yet *post tot et tantos strepitus* here nothing of them, and now I am told his Majestie hath gratiously graunted a pardon for us all that are such *cordolia* to them. I could in a sort have wished you had ben sent for, for then we should have enjoyed your company, as you promised me in Easter terme, and we should have schooled you for the 180 tapers upon Candlemas night*. We must be wary and wise, you and I especially, and *Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.* It is well resolved not to rejoyne to those bandoggs, but ἐχέμεν Θεόν and expect better dayes, at least not to scold with scolds.

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo
Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor.

Newes I can send you none but what you knowe, and Dr. Linsell can tell you, concerning my self and others. Only remember me to your wife, though unknowen, and if I were a Bishop I should send a Bishop's blessing, as you have the prayers of your

Pore true loveing frind,
RI. MOUNTAGU.

London, July vii. [1628.]

"To the right wll. my very worthy freind, Mr. Ihon Cosin, Archdeacon of York, att Durham."

LXXVII.—AN ACT OF CHAPTER FOR THE BETTER MAINTENANCE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM. [Hunter MSS. xi. 20.]

In Generali Capitulo, celebrato xx°. Julij 1628. *An Act and Ordinance, made by the Deane and Chapter of Durham, for the replenishing and mainteyning of their Common Librarie, hereafter to be duly and strictly observed, according to the Statutes of the Church in that behalfe provided.*

THE Deane and Chapter of this Church, well and dulie weighing how much it concerns them, among other their cares for the

Cleri et de assensu procerum Magnatum et Communitatis predictorum, ordinavit et statuit quod vocandi in futurum ad Convocacionem Cleri pretextu brevis regii, eorumque servientes et familares, eadem libertate sive immunitate veniendo expectando et redeundo plene gaudeant et utantur perpetuis futuris temporibus, qua gaudent et gaudere consueverunt sive gaudere debent in futurum proceres sive Magnates et Communitas regni Angliæ ad parliamentum domini Regis vocati sive vocandi."

* The account of these Candlemas tapers spread far and wide. See a letter from Jos. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville, printed in the Acts of the High Commission (Pub. Surtees Soc.) p. 197.

advancement of religion and learning, to provide against the further decay and negligence of their Common Librarie, wherein they stand so strictly charged by the will and pleasure of their Royall Founders; and considering also how fitt and requisite it is (according to the laudable custome and good example of most Cathedrall Churches, together with other religious Societies within this Realme) to provide aswell for the present supply as for the future replenishing and maintenance of the same: And for this purpose having lately, at their common and no small charge, not only repayred the ruin of the place, and reformed the rudenes of the old stalls, by making a faire frame of shelves, and other conveniences more usefull then before; but also newly composed those ancient manuscripts and other bookes (wherof the iniquitie of former times had not yet made a full spoyle) to be the better preserved hereafter, for the use and benefit of the Church: And forasmuch as the said Deane and Chapter have lately also expended such large summes of money for the reparation of their Church-fabrick, and for the ornaments, utensills, and beautie of the same, together with so many augmentations which they have newly granted, out of their common purse, for the better life, maintenance, and encouragement, of them that daily performe their due service in the Quire, that through this meanes, as also through the decay of divers free rents and chanteries, they are now become unable to furnish and provide the said Librarie with such store of bookes and authors in their severall classe, both ancient and moderne, as they most desire for the encrease of knowledge, and for the preservation of the ancient pietie and honour of this religious foundation: It is therefore this day, by the said Deane and Chapter, agreed on, by the autoritie whereof the Statutes of this Church hath to this purpose enabled them, ordayned and inacted in manner and forme following:—

1. That hereafter every new Deane and Prebendarie of this Church respectively, shall, at the time of his installation, pay unto the said Librarie the summe of twenty marks for the Deane, and twenty nobles for every Prebendarie, in lieu of a banquet formerly in use, which shall hereafter be spared, being made bread and wine, and no more, with the fees accustomed to the officers of the Church.

2. That from henceforth, for the continuall helpe and supply of so good a worke, no lease, nor patent, shalbe confirmed under the common seale or ratification of the Deane and Chapter, unlesse that every such lessee or patentee whatsoever, shall, at the time of the sealing and confirmation of his grant from any other but the said Deane and Chapter, pay in money, by way of

fine to the Library, one tenth part of the whole yeere's profit at the least of the lease or patent so confirmed: the money to be paid unto the Treasorour for the time being, (as likewise all moneys for this purpose before and after mentioned) and by him, with the advise of the Deane and Chapter, to be faithfully imployed and layd forth in buying choyce and faire books for the Librarie, whereof he shall give his accompt also at every Audit.

3. That hereafter no corps shall be buried within any place of the Church, (other then the families of such as be members of the same) unlesse 40*s*. be first paid to the Library, nor in or above the Quire, unlesse ten pounds be first paid thereunto, besides the accustomed fees due unto the Quiremen and other the officers attending any funerall.

RIC. HUNT. Deca:[nus.]

Indorsed, "An Act intended for the better storing of our Library in Durham Church."

[The above (together with the Indorsement) is in Cosin's hand. The signature is Dean Hunt's autograph.]

LXXVIII.—FROM ARCHDEACON COSIN TO BISHOP LAUD. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxiii. 19.]

RIGHT REVEREND AND MY VERIE HONORABLE GOOD LORD. SINCE the copie of Mr. Smart's Sermon* was sent unto your Lordship, he hath, beyond all example or expectation, preferred foure Indictments against us†, at these last Assizes here in Durham: one, that we place our Communion-Table the wrong way; another, that we stand up and sing the Creed after the Gospell; a third, that we use waxe lights and tapers; and a fourth, that Mr. Burgoyne hath set up an altar in his church at Warmouth. All which were by him suppos'd and urg'd to be superstitious or unlawfull ceremonies, and contrary to the Act of Uniformitie, &c. A great noise here was about it, and tongues began to walk at large, but they had done o' the suddaine; for the Grand Jurie found nothing, and the Judge, Sir James

* The celebrated Sermon preached by Smart in Durham Cathedral, on the 27th July, 1628 (upon the text,—"*I hate them that holde of superstitious vanities:*" Psalm xxxi. 7.) in which he made so outrageous an attack upon the ceremonial used in the services of the Cathedral.

† These proceedings were taken under the provisions of the Act of Uniformity passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

Whitlock *, with whom they consulted, (as the use is) rejected the Indictments in open Court, letting the country know that he knew no law whereupon they should be grounded, and adding that the man deserved no small punishment who, in this unwonted sort, had gone about to disgrace the Church, and to dishonour the solemnitie of God's service there, where himself had been both an eare and an eye witnesse that all thinges were done in decencie and in order; urging, further, the commendation and defence of those particulars against which he tooke exception whose spleene was too big for his brayne. But since this devise would take no effect, (unlesse it were shame to him that invented it) we are threatened with further complaints, and he sticks not to professe it openly that he will fetch us all into higher Courts than these: neither will the furie of so hot a spirit be stayed till he hath set all on fire, unlesse he be cool'd by autoritie.

With this passage I thought it my dutie to acquaint your Lordship, and so to take my leave, after I have told you that Dr. Lindsell is lighter by 21 stones than he was before he took his journey from London, having been troubled here with that disease these three weeks, but now growing to a faire recoverie of his health; for which, next under God, the physitian sayes he is beholden to his long travell, which by stirring of his bodie hath beene a meanes to remove and send away those tormentours that otherwise might have handled him with greater crueltie, if not ston'd him to death. God keep him in health, and God reward your Lordship for rewarding his learning and goodnes with a dignitie of our Church†. I pray for your Lordship's quiet and long life, ever being

Your most humble and true servant,

Jo. Cosin.

Branspeth, Aug. 19, 1628.

"To y^e^. R^t^. R^d^. Father in God, my very hon^ble^. good Lord, y^e^. Lord Bishop of London, one of y^e^. L^ds^. of his Ma^ties^. most hon^ble^. privie Councell, These.

LXXIX.—Letter from Dean Hunt and certain Prebendaries of Durham to the Bishop of Winchester. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxiii. 65.]

Right reverend Father in God, and our right honourable good Lord,

May it please you to be informed that since wee sent your Lordship the copie of Mr. Smart's Sermon, wee convented him before

* Sir James Whitelocke was made a Justice of the King's Bench in 1624.

† Lindsell was made Dean of Lichfield in 1628.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 128.

the High Commission * to take further securitie for his appearance: where he carried himselfe so irrespectively of us his Majestie's Commissioners, that had wee not beene the parties against whome hee so bitterlie inveighed in his Sermon, wee could have done no lesse than dealt more harshly with him. And since that tyme, the more to prosecute his malice against us, at these our last Assizes, he preferred severall inditements concerning the ornaments of our Communion Table, standing at the Nicene Creed, and other ceremonies of our Church, against Mr. Burgoine and Mr. Cosins in particular, and the rest of the Church in generall. All which, by the commandement of our worthy Judge, Sir James Whitlocke, after he had himselfe beene in the Church, and viewed the particulars, were rejected and throwne out of the Court. Yet notwithstanding, as wee are informed, hee intends not so to let it rest, but as wee suppose, he is mynded to prefer a Bill against us the next Sessions of Parliament. Wherefore we doe againe earnestly implore your Lordship's assistance and patronage, together with the ayd of our Reverend Lords the Bishops of London and Oxon, against such his furious and causelesse proceedings to the great scandall of the Church and contempt of God's service. And so leaveing your Lordship to the Grace of Jesus Christ, wee humbly take our leave, and rest.

Your Lordship's in all duty and service,

Ric. Hunt.	Jo. Cosin.
Augustine Lindsell.	Ferdinand Morecroft §.
Gabriel Clarke †.	William James ‖.
Mar. Blakiston ‡.	

Durham, August 23, 1628.

"To ye. Rt. Rd. Father in God and our honble. good Lord,
ye. Ld. Bp. of Winton, one of ye. Lords of his
Maties. most hoble. privy Councell, These.

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* For the proceedings against Smart see Acts of the High Commission within the Diocese of Durham, (Pub. Surtees Society) pp. 198 *et seq.*

† Gabriel Clarke, D.D., chaplain to Bishop Neile, and prebendary of Durham. He was successively Archdeacon of Northumberland and Durham.—Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 171.

‡ Cosin's father-in-law, and prebendary of Durham.

§ Ferdinand Morecroft, M.A., was collated to a stall in Durham Cathedral in 1614. He was also Rector of Stanhope and Vicar of Heighington. He died about 1641.—Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 191. There is a curious note respecting him in Dr. Brady's Collection, p. 32 (Baker MSS. xxxiv. 1). "One Mr. Morecroft (Prebendary of Durham), being questioned in Parliament (with the rest) about Mr. Smart's business, and halting on both sides, dyed with grief, and was bury'd on Satterday, May 29."

‖ Also a prebendary of Durham, installed 6th Oct. 1620. He was a relation of Bishop James, through whose patronage he became rector of Crayke, Washington, and Ryton.—Ibid. p. 215.

LXXX.—Affidavit of Thomas King respecting the alleged denial of the Royal Supremacy by John Cosin, Prebendary of Durham. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxix. 42.]

Thomas King of the cittie of Durham, notarie publique, maketh oath that about May Day 1628, Mr. John Cosin, Clerke, Batchelor of Dyvinity, and Prebendary of the ninth prebend of the Cathedrall Church of Durham, in the house of one Ann Tyler, wedow, at a great Court-Dinner there, in the presence of divers witnesses of good creditt, spoke these words following, vidz^t. "King Charles is not supreme heade of the Church of England next under Christ, nor haith he anie more poore of excommunication than my man that rubs my horse heeles."

Prestitit sacramentum de veritate premissorum xxvij^o die Octobris 1628.

Ex: per B. Thelwall.

LXXXI.—Relation by John Cosin, Prebendary of Durham, of the particulars of a conversation as to the Royal Supremacy, &c*. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxxi. 33 j.]

This was the summe of those speeches which passed from me in our casuall discourse at Tyler's house in Durham, April 28,

* This Paper (with some few differences) has been printed in Cosin's Works (Ang. Cath. Lib.) vol. iv. p. 371. It is given here in order that the subsequent Papers relating to the subject may be more intelligible. The accusation which was grounded upon the reports industriously disseminated respecting this conversation gave Cosin a great deal of trouble. He writes to Laud about it as follows:—Right reverend and my very honorable good Lord: I am full loth to trouble your Lordship whose cares and imployments I know to be so many and so great, but that necessitie constreyneth me, and I trust shall plead with your goodnes for my pardon. There is a sonne of Belial and a sollicitor of Mr. Smart's at London *, that hath invented an incredible slander of me, and informed it to Mr. Attorney Generall, of meere purpose to disgrace and loade me with troubles. The information is, that about 3 quarters of a yeere since I should deny the King's Supremacie and speak those irreverent words of it which I abhorre to name or thinke. Whereupon Mr. Attorney hath beene pleased to direct his letters hither

* *In margine*:—They call him Thomas King, and is commonly here known by the name of *Tom Fame*.

1628. [*In margine.* There were then present, Mr. Deane of Durham, Sir William Belasyse*, Mr. Archdeacon Clark, Mr. M. Blackiston, Mr. Jo. Robson †, Mr. William James, Mr. Jo. Browne ‡, Mr. Pleasance, Mr. Walton §, Mr. Hasel, and some others, all sitting at table friendly together.]

1. The first question being put (upon occasion of some discourse betweene Mr. Robson and me about the Canon law) from

to Sir William Bellasis, our High Sheriffe, and to Mr. Deane of Durham about it, requiring them to let him know what they themselves, or others worthy of credit, upon their examination can say to it; that if the accusation be true, he may (as his office is) proceed against me and cause me to be sent for; having already acquainted his Majestie with it, whose high displeasure I have deservedly incurr'd unlesse the matter be but slander only and vanitie. That so it is, I hope Sir William Belasis and Mr. Deane will manifest both by their owne answere, and the large testimonie of others that were all present and heard every word I said at that meeting and discourse, wherein I am thus long after, by two malicious men, accused to have utter'd such strange language. Your Lordship peradventure hath heard of this slander before, for it is now about a month old. In the meane while I am burdened with grief, and my soule is disquieted within me, that while I labour with my utmost and faithfull endeavours to serve God and the King in feare and in reverence, whiles I have ever striven to mainteine and set forth the King's most sacred power against them that too boldly contemn'd it, his Excellent Majestie shold have any informations against me to the contrary, whereby I may not only lose his sacred protection, which my enemies seek; and be thought unworthy of the Royall and gracious favours that I have received from his clemencie and goodnes, but be rank'd also among those offenders and spurners against autoritie, from whom I ever abhorr'd. There is none that can avert this evill from me, or continue me in his Majestie's gracious opinion better than your Lordship. I have therfore beene bold to send your Lordship these inclosed, for your true and most faithfull information against the wickednes of them that I am afraid neither feare God nor man, humbly beseeching your Lordship even for your goodnes to say and doe for me, as in your wisdome you think meet, and as the necessitie of my abused innocencie doth most earnestly beg at your hands; if Mr. Attorney be not yet satisfied, and his Majestie given to understand what the truth, and what my integritie is. I once againe aske pardon for this my presuming upon your Lordship's honorable and wonted goodnes towards me, and with my continuall prayers for your health &c., I take my leave. Your Lordship's most humble servant, JOHN COSIN.—Durham, Novemb. 22, 1628.—To y^e^. R^t^. R^d^. Father in God, my very hon^ble^. good Lord, y^e^. L^d^. Bp. of London, one of y^e^. L^ds^. of his Ma^ties^. most hon^ble^. Privy Councell, these at London house.—State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. cxxi. 33.

This letter is printed in the Appendix to the Acts of the High Commission, p. 201, (Pub. Surtees Soc.) from the Baker MSS. It is erroneously stated to be addressed to Bishop Neile.

* Of Morton House, in the County Palatine of Durham, High Sheriff of that County under Bishops Neile, Monteigne, Howson, and Morton, from 1625 to 1640. —Surtees' Hist. Durh. i. p. 203.

† A prebendary of Durham, installed 1st Aug. 1620. He was rector of Morpeth, and afterwards of Whalton. He was returned as member of parliament for Morpeth, in the third parliament of James I., but was not allowed to sit, as being in holy orders.—Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 191.

‡ Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

§ Of Shacklock Hall in Weardale, Alderman of Durham. His brother Nicholas Walton, M.A., was Master of the Grammar School at Durham, Pepetual Curate of Croxdale, and Minister of St. Nicholas', Durham.—Surtees' Hist. Durh. iv. part ii. p. 154.

whom the power of excommunication proceeded, I answered "that we had our power of excommunication from Christ": and Mr. Pleasance interposing that we had it from the King, and that he might excommunicate aswell as wee, this I said:—

"That no man ever said or held it before him, that our Church disclaym'd it*, that it was a slander laid upon us by the Papists; that the exercise of it indeed was under the King, but the power of it only from Christ, and by virtue of Holy Orders. And lastly, that our kings had never taken any such power upon them."

2. The second question (upon occasion of the former) being presently made by Mr. Pleasance, "How the King then cold be said to be Head of the Church?" I demanded of him, "Who said it now? for the lawes said it not, the Canons said it not, our best writers said it not, specially in his sense, Queen Elizabeth refus'd it, our Kings since lik'd it not, that the oath of Supremacie itself express'd it not, that in my judgment [*In margine:* Here was I questioned, why I used not the title of Head of the Church in my prayer before my sermons.] it was unsafe for us private men to set forth any other title of the King then what himself or his state had ordeyned, that the stile was the more misliked (howsoever in a generall sense it might be well enough interpreted) because the Pope's flatterers had given it to him, and because it doth most properly belong unto Christ, who was the only Head of his Church, precisely taken, which is but one bodie it self, and therefore not capable of many heads. And lastly, that they did but cause themselves to be pittyed or condemned; whosover did affirme that we gave power of administring the sacraments, or of excommunication unto Princes themselves, whom, nevertheless, we acknowledged (and I wold be as redy to maintain and set forth as any man) to be Supreme Governor both of Church and State, and that by their power of supreme dominion they might command churchmen at any time to doe their office, or punish them for the neglect of it." I added farther, to Mr. Robson's sayings, "That externall coaction, indeed, whereby men were forc'd to obey the jurisdiction of the Church, was only from the King, but the *power* of spirituall jurisdiction it self was from Christ, who had given it unto his Apostles, and they to their successors in ordination."

* Bp. Jewell, Defens: of the Apol: pag. 570. [Par. VI. c. ii. § 1, 2, 3; pp. 569—574. Works, Lond. 1609.] View of ye. Pope's Bull, pag. 14. [See a view of a seditious Bull, sent into England from Pius Quintus, bishop of Rome, 1569, &c., in Jewell's Works.]

This was the utmost of that I said: and being urged as I was in a companie of schollers and other understanding men, I think I shold have betrayed the truth if I had said lesse. The whole companie, or the best of them, often interposed and assented to what I spake; unles it were Mr. Pleasance and G. Walton. But as for any irreverent words of his Majestie, my most gracious Lord and Sovereigne, they yet did never, and never shall they come either into my mouth or into my hart.

JOHN COSIN.

[Indorsed: The summe and effect of my discourse.]

LXXXII.—THE TESTIMONY OF SIR WILLIAM BELASYSE AND OTHERS AS TO MR. COSIN'S EXPRESSION OF OPINION WITH REGARD TO THE ROYAL SUPREMACY. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxxi. 33 ij.]

WHERAS in a casuall conference which passed betweene Mr. John Cosin and others, at a Court dinner kept by the Dean and Prebendaries of Durham, in Widdow Tyler's house there, upon the 28th day of April last past, some persons seeking to wound the honest name and reputation of the said Mr. Cosin have lately given out that he shold speak certaine disloyall words, tending to the denyall of the King's supremacie, and namely that he shold say, the king had no more power to officiate in the Church or to excommunicate then his man, as some, or then his horse-keeper, as others more odiously have bruited it.

These are to testifie unto all men to whom these presents may be addressed, that wee, who were then present and neere auditors of all speeches then passing from Mr. Cosin, heard no such words by him uttered, nor any other words tending to disloyaltie, or irreverence of his sacred Majestie, his person or his power, but further that we apprehended nothing by him then discoursed or spoken, but what we approved, and might well have spoken ourselves in the like case, he there professing openly and freely, "That according to his bounden dutie, he was as ready to defend and set forth the King's supremacie and power of Ecclesiasticall dominion (though no man attributed unto him the power of excommunication or other priestly functions) as any man shold be to oppose the same."

In witness wherof we have hereunto subscribed our names, as giving testimonie to the truth, if at any time the said Mr.

Cosin shall have cause for the cleering of himselfe to make use herof. Dated the 6th day of November 1628.

WILL. BELASYS. WILL. JAMES.
MARM. BLAKISTON. JO. BROWNE.

This is a true copie of the original testimonie.
FRA. BURGOINE.
WILL. JAMES.

[Indorsed: The testimonie of Sr. Wm. Belasyse, or. high sheriffe, Mr. Blakiston, Mr. James, Pr.bends of Durham, Mr. Browne, or. Regr.]

LXXXIII.—THE TESTIMONIE OF MR. ARCHDEACON AND MR. ROBSON, PREBENDS OF DURHAM. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxxi. 33 iij.]

WHERAS it hath beene by some persons reported that Mr. John Cosin in a casuall conference (at a Court dinner kept by the Dean and Prebendaries of Durham in Widdow Tyler's house there, upon the 28th day of Aprill last past) should speake certaine words tending to the denyall of the King's supremacie, and namly, "That the king had no more power to officiate in the Church, or to excommunicate, then his horse-keeper."

These are therfore to testifie, that wee being then present and attending what speeches passed there from the said Mr. Cosin, heard him utter no such words, and that we conceyved the intention and ayme of his discourse was no way to derogate from his Majestie's power and autoritie, but rather to acknowledge and manifest his Majestie to be the Supreme Governour accordto the lawes and canons in that behalf provided.

In witnesse whereof we have herunto subscribed our names this 18th day of November 1628.

The subscription.

GABRIEL CLARK.
JO. ROBSON.

This is a true copie of the originall testimonie.
FRA. BURGOINE.
WILL. JAMES.

LXXXIV. — Declaration of William James, Prebendary of Durham. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxxi. 33 iv.]

Wheras I am required to give my true testimonie touching a casuall conference had upon the 28th day of April last, in the presence of divers reverend persons at Durham, and namly whether in the said Conference Mr. Cosin spake any words tending to the denyall of the King's supremacie, or used any such irreverent speeches, as to say, the King had no more power to officiate or excommunicate then his man or horse-keeper.

These are therefore to declare, that I being then present, and, as I verily believe, hearing all which Mr. Cosin then spake, yet I neither heard in plaine words, nor cold I apprehend or collect by any circumstance, that he spake or let fall any speech which might derogate from the King's Majestie's Royall power or supremacie, or used any such irreverent words as are by some suggested and before mentioned. But I can truly testifie that (to my apprehension) the whole ayme and endeavour of Mr. Cousin's discourse was to manifest the said Royall and supreme power of his Majestie, according to the lawes of this realme religiously established. In witnesse wherof I doe hereunto subscribe my hand. Dated Novemb. 23, 1628.

Will. James.

This a trew copye of the certificate which I delivered to Mr. Deane of Durham, to be sent to Mr. Atturney Generall.

Will. James.

[Indorsed in Cosin's handwriting: Mr. James' certificate, sent to Mr. Attorney.]

LXXXV.—From Richard Mountagu, Bishop of Chichester, to Archdeacon Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 4.]

Honest Mr. Archdeacon,

I would I could give you the blessing I desire, either I would come to you, or you should be with me; for *præfiscinè dico, Non inveni similem; omnes sua quærunt:* and it was written unto me lately, by my Lord of Cant[erbury] that my greate friends, so he phrased it, would take no blowes for me. In good time, and yet it may be their owne heads may smart. You in the north, I in the south, are the object of toungs and penns*, and I must

* Mountagu alludes, no doubt, to the accusations brought against Cosin for his alleged impugning of the Royal Supremacy. As regarded his own case, his elevation

be unbishop't a geyne. But thretned men, they say, live long. So may wee, *σὺν Θεῷ*. For my own part, *audio, rideo*. Yet

to the Episcopate was very unpopular with the Puritan party. The following Paper of Objections was tendered at his Confirmation by one Jones, a stationer:—

"Objections, &c. of Wm. Jones, stationer, of London. 1. Inprimis that you the said Richard Mountague have caused to be printed and in your name to be publyshed one booke called "An Answere to the late Gagger of Protestants," and another booke entituled "A treatise of the Invocation of Saints," and a third booke entituled "An Appeale to Cesar," in every of which bookes you have nominated and affirmed some doctrine contrary and repugnant to the Articles, whereuppon yt was agreed by the Arch-Bishopps and Bishopps of both Provinces and the whole Cleragie in the Convocation holden at London in the yeare of our Lord God 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England for avoyding of diversities of opinions and for establishing consent touching true religion, and by the said dilects you have broken the lawes and statutes of this realme in that behalfe provided, And you have thereby very much disturbed the peace of the Church and Common-wealth, to the heigh dishonor of Allmighty God, which your bookes are confuted by the late Right Reverend Bishop Carleton, and diverse other orthodox and conformable divines of the Church of England. And I article and object &c.

2. That you, Rich. Montague, in severall places of your said booke called "the Gagger," and in your other books doe and have advisedly maynetayned and affirmed that the Church of Rome ys, and ever was, a true Church, contrary to the 16 Homily of the second booke of Homilies, and as ys declared in the 35 Article of the aforesaid Articles. And I object &c.

3. That you doe maintaine and affirme, in your saide book "the Answer to the Gagger," that the Church of Rome hath ever remayned firme upon the same foundation of Sacraments and doctrine instituted by God contrary to the Homily last named, and as is declared in the 28 Article of the said Articles. And I object &c.

4. That you in your booke called "the Answer to the Gagger" doe and have maynetayned and affirmed that images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, contrary to the second Homily, intituled against perrill of Idolatry with that appeared in the 35 Article in the booke of Articles aforesaid. And I object &c.

5. That you, in your "Treatise of the Invocation of Saints," doe and have affirmed and maynetayned that they have not only a memory but a more peculiar charge of their freinds, and that yt may be admitted that some saints have a particular patronage, custody, protection and power as angells alsoe have over certaine persons and countreys by espceiall deputation, and that yt ys one [*Blank in MS*] soe to beleeve contrary to the doctrine in the Homily aforesaid. And I object &c.

6. That you in your said book called "the Appeale" doe maintayne, and have maintayned and affirmed, that men justified may falle away and depart from that state which once they hadd, and that they may rise againe and possibly become new men, but nott certaine or necessary; and the better to maintayne this your opinion you have in the same booke willfully satisfied [*sic*] and changed diverse words of the 16th Article of the book of Articles aforesaid, and diverse other words both in the book of Homilies, and allsoe in the Book of Common Praier, and all the same *plats* [*sic*] are soe by you misrecited and changed in your said book called "the Appeale to Cesar," and you doe and have endevored thereby to lay a most wicked and malicious scandall upon the Church of England, as if you did herein differ from the reformed Churches of Ireland and from all other reformed Churches beyond the seas, and you did and doe consent to those pernitious errors which are commonly called Armenianisme, and which the late famous princes, Queene Elizabeth and Kinge James, of most happie and blessed memory, did piouslie and diligently labour to suppresse. And I object as aforesaid &c. *per me* WILLIAM JONES."—[State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cx. 66.]

our Master is mindfull of us, for Mr. Atturney told me himself the King had given him expresse charges to draw a pardon for you and me. I have it not, for some interloper hath clos'd it with Dr. Sibthorpe, Manwaring, [and] Jackson. Yet this last refused it. So would I, but that *gratiæ* are not to be rejected. Were you here I would speake my minde freely. I dare not write. But I have none like yourself. Beshrewe you for going to the north, and send you some occasion, though against your will, to draw you to the south. That good lady I have not seene lately. She was then nere childbirth when that Ravailliac gave the dismall blowe*, and since Bartholomew tide I have not been in London, being hindered with my new incumbrances, and since with a durty journey not fitting a crasy body. Our good friend Mr. Porter is not returned. God Almighty send him back *σὺν εὐαγγέλιοις*. Dr. Collins by my Lady Denbigh's importunity hath his patent confirmed for Windsore, and is in expectation for the next†. He had it before the Duke's death. Our Deane would fayne be any Bishop‡. Nowe removes wilbe, I would we had you there. My Lord of London can do what he will, can you not prevaile with him? I am not feissable. Happly with others I could putt on. My desire is to be with you some where. If you can let us see you this spring. *Vale, vive.*

Tuissimus,

Ri. Cicest§.

Nov. 23, [1628.]

My wife remembers her love, and dreames of you sometimes.

"To the wll. my most worthy and loving freind Mr. Ihon Cosen,
Prebend of Durham and Archdeacon of Yorke, att
Branspeth by Durham, this.

Leave this at Mr. Blakiston's shoppe, at the three Pigeons in
St. Paul's Churchyard.

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* This no doubt refers to the murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton, on the 23rd Aug., 1628.

† For the next vacant Canonry, doubtless. David Collins, S. T. P., was installed March 11, 1631, into the Canonry vacant by the death of Thomas Frith.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 385.

‡ Matthew Wren, S. T. P., who became Bishop of Hereford in 1634. He was translated to Norwich in 1635, and to Ely in 1638.—Le Neve, pp. 70, 112, 212.

§ Mountagu was elected Bishop of Chichester July 14, 1628, confirmed August 22, and consecrated at Croydon the 24th of the same month. He was translated to Norwich in 1638, when Wren was promoted to Ely. He died April 13, 1641, and was buried in his own cathedral.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 212.

LXXXVI.—A Relation of some part of the Discourse that Judge Yelverton had with certaine of the Prebendaries [*In margine.* Mr. Blakiston, Mr. George Morecroft, Mr. Ferdinand Morecroft, Dr. Lindsell, Mr. Cosin, Mr. Dunkon] of the Cathedrall Church of Durham, upon the 19th Day of July last past, A° 1629, being the Sunday before the Assizes at Durham. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxlvii. 15.]

They informed his Lordship how they had intelligence that ther would be certaine frivolous indictments preferr'd unto him by Mr. Peeter Smart, one of the Prebendaries of the Church of Durham, against some of the members of the same church, which they desired him that he would be pleased not to admitt of, as Judge Whitlock had not done the yeare before, because the matter of them seemed altogether to belong to the cognisance of ther Ordinary, the Bishop.

His answer was to this effect, "that if they were according to law, he could not but admitt them."

They told him "that those indictments that had beene preferr'd the last yeare were (and so they conceived these would be to the same effect) about the practise of certaine ceremonies in the church, which they conceived were not against law. Which, notwithstanding, Mr. Smart had publickly opposed in a Sermon he had preached not longe since in the Cathedrall Church ther. Which also he had lately printed and so dispersed. Many coppies whereof being lately found at York were, by the appointment of the Lord Archbishop of York, ther burned." Judge Yelverton replied, "that he was very sory for it, for he had reade that sermon, and he thought it to be a very good and an honest sermon."

One of the Prebendaries said, "that he wondred his Lordship should say so; for that sermon contein'd very scandalous matter, many falsities and absurdities, &c." To which the Judge answered, "that he was not of that opinion, but that he would be glad to learne of him."

Another of the Prebendaries told him "that in that Sermon singeing of service was condemned for a superstitious ceremonie, and an idle vanitie; but he hoped his Lordship did not thinke soe."

To this he answer'd, "that he thought so too, and that truely for his parte he never liked of our singeing of service, and he gave this reason for his dislike, because he could never understand word of it when the organs plaid," and this he repeated often. Hereunto was replied, "that noe more could an ordinary psalme be understood when it was sunge in the Church, except

a man had a psalme book to look on it. And that hee might doe with us if it pleased him, beeing that nothing was sung in the Church for the most part, but out of the book of Common Prayer."

Heere also the other Judge (who was present at this discourse hithertoo) told him "that hee did understand the singeing well enough, and so might he also, if he would, if he had a book of Common Prayer by him, for all that they sange was out of it."

Heer one of the company told him "that they were bound by the statutes of that Church to performe ther Service in the Quire in this manner, *cum cantu, scilicet, et jubilatione.*"

"*Cum jubilatione,*" saith Judge Yelverton, "that is, with whistling. And for my part (saith he) I never liked of your whistling of service," (which in the discourse he repeated thre or fowre times).

One of the Prebendaries hereupon desired him, sayeing, "Good my Lord, doe not call it whistling, for it is a word of disgrace." The Judge replied upon him short againe, and said, "I Sir, I know what I say. I call it whistling. Is not *jubilatio* whistling?" It was answer'd him that *jubilatio* was not whistling, and that whistling applied to the service with the organ could not be taken in a good sence." To this he said, "that he meant it in a good sence." He said, moreover, "that he had beene alwaise accounted a Puritane, and he thanked God for it; and that soe he would die."

One of the company told him "that he imagin'd one of Mr. Smart's indictments would be for the standing up at the Nicen Creed, which, notwithstanding the Bishop, as *Ordinarius loci*, had appointed to be done." To this he said, "that the Bishop could not doe it, and that they must stand only at the Apostle's Creede."

Mr. Cosin told him "that Judge Whitlock, the yeare before, had gone up and downe the Church, and liked all things in it very well." To this, "God forbid," saith he, "that I should allow of all things that are done in Cathedrall Churches."

The next day, beeing the twentieth of July, in his charge he gave at the Assises then at Durham, he [*In margine*, Judge Yelverton] said "that this was a piece of false doctrine avowed by some therabouts, that they, the Judges, had nothing to doe with matters belonging to the Church, but they should know they had to doe with them, if they did any thing against the lawe."

And moreover he added, "that as it was against the law to doe lesse then was commanded, (as not to weare the surplesse,

&c.) so it was against it also to doe any thing more then is therby expressely appointed to be done. And that such as did more then was therein specified might be indicted at the Assise, as well as they that did lesse."

Upon which declaration of his, in point of lawe, it may seeme the Grand Jury were induced to finde those indictments that were preferred the last Assisses at Durham, against Mr. Cosins and Mr. Burgoine, by the procurement of Peeter Smart.

[Indorsed: July ye. 19. 1629. Judge Yelverton's discourse with the Pr.bends of Durham about Church service, &c. in Smart's case.]

LXXXVII.—Judge Yelverton his speeches to the Prebendaryes upon the Wednesday Morning after the Assisses at Durham, beeing the 23 of July last past, a° 1629. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxlvii. 35.]

His speech to them altogether, sheweing his great desire of settling peace and love amongst them, which, beeing disturbed only by Mr. Smarte, he told Mr. Smart to this effect:—That he perceived his natur and disposition was to hot, to revengefull, too fierce and violent, and, according to his name, *to smart.*

That his courses against Mr. Cosin and the Church were *truly* unchristian.

That through Mr. Cosin's sides he strooke deepe into all the Cathedrall Churches in England.

That he found Mr. Cosin of a better temper and disposition than Mr. Smart by farr.

That he wondered at his refusall to stand at the Nicen Creed, the Bishop having counsell'd it, whose counsells were commandes to him.

That if he had any power with Mr. Smart, he would advise and charge him to cease from these violent and uncharitable courses, which bred nothing but schisme and sin.

That he would desire him to professe as much, and that he would entreat the Deane and prebendaries, and especially Mr. Cosin, to pass by all former injuries, and to unite themselves to Mr. Smart in christian charity. To which they all profess'd ther willingness, and that none should be more glad than they to see Mr. Smart become a peaceable man.

Mr. Cosins, upon Mr. Smart's promise to cease from any farther opposition and raiseing slanders against him or the Church, offered himselfe ready to forgett all former injuries.

Whereupon the Judge caused them to geeve each other ther

handes, and Mr. Smart made request that the Prebendaries would not prosecut him any longer at York; to which they answered, that that belonged not now to them: neither did they, but his owne seditious sermon, call him ther in question, wher they hoped he would recall his faults and ill speeches, according to my Lord's Grace's directions and censure.

The Judge said he looked for unity amongst ourselves, and then he thought that other matters and questions abroad would the sooner have an ende: and that this union would be a meanes to make my Lord of York the more favourable and inclineable to Mr. Smart, if he did truely intende what he had now profess'd before him.

Mr. Smart's sonne in law, one Ogle, standing by, was heard saie hereupon, "And is it come to this? Did we rely upon the Judge for this? Hath my father spent 300li. for this?"

The Judge's conclusion was what he would doe with the Indictments, carry them away with him, acquaint the Bishops with them, by name the Bishops of Durham, London, and Winchester, and the King also.

Mr. Cosins and Mr. Burgoine desire was to have these Indictments travers'd, that they might not be at this passe every assisses; for that the yeare before they had been rejected (as now) by Judge Whitlock: and that the next yeare another Judge might come the circuit, and by that time Mr. Smart might be of another mynde. "Nay," quoth the Judge, "I'le take an order for that, whether I come or no. I trowe the Kinge hath power to stay the prosecution of any such Indictments. And I must tell you, Mr. Smart, I see no such direct law wheron to grownd them, now I have consider'd of it, &c.," or to this effect.

He desired the Prebendaries moreover to write ther letter to my Lord of York, to signifie how Mr. Smart had professed himselfe willing to embrace peace, &c.

Indorsed: [in Laud's hand] Julye 23. 1629. Judge Yelverton's milder speeches to ye. Prbends of Durham after ye. Assizes thear.

LXXXVIII.—Letter from Archdeacon Cosin (*probably to Bishop Laud*). [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cxlvii. 42.]

Right reverend and my very honorable good lord.

I trust your Lordship will pardon my boldnes, and give way to my necessitie, if I still adventure to trouble you with matters

that concerne my safetie. Mr. Smart is questioned at Yorke for depraving the solemnitie of Divine Service, and, to be even with some of us, (wherof I must alwaies look to be one) he will not suffer all to goe unquestioned here at Durham: where he hath taken advantage of the time, the Bishop's absence, with other concurrent helpes, and preferred severall Indictments against Mr. Burgoyne and myselfe at these last assizes, before Judge Yelverton, the same which Judge Whitlock, the yeere before, had rejected and cast out of the Court, as knowing no law wheron they shold be grounded, and allowing what we did with much approbation in the Church, charging the Jury to admit of no such presentments, but if any doubts were about the manner of celebrating any Church service, to referre the parties that doubted to the Bishop, according to the order in that behalf provided by the Preface to our book of Common Prayer. But it shold seeme the law is falne out to be otherwise this yeere then it was the last, and it is false doctrine to say now as Judge Whitlock did: for we are taught, and the Jury stood by, That as some men have bin punished and deprived for refusing to use some ceremonies commanded in the Church by law, so other some are as punishable, if they shall dare to use any other rite, ceremonie, ornament, or order whatsoever, which is not expressly appointed in the book of Common Prayer, and if any such were indicted that they should then be punished at the Assizes. Wherupon, we are like (they say) to be indicted the next time for our organs and our cornets, together with the candlesticks and tapers upon the Communion Table, there being no such things expressed in the book. But these Indictments which Mr. Smart hath now preferred against us, how frivolous and how malicious they proved even in Judge Yelverton's owne judgment, what conference he had with us, about our better agreement and unitie hereafter, what his apprehension was both of Mr. Smart's spirit and ours, what his reprehension was of such smart and fierce and unchristian courses, (these were his words) and last of all what my temper, actions and behaviour have bin all this while, I humbly beseech your Lordship that this bearer, Mr. Duncon, and Mr. Deane of Lichfield, at his returne, may at your Lordship's leisure relate unto you. In the meane while the Judge hath stay'd the Indictments from any further publick view or prosecution, untill he hath consulted with your Lordship, my Lords of Durham and Winchester, for reasons best knowne to himself. When he speaks with your Lordship I trust he will give a better testimonie of me then my adversaries are willing to have him, and your Lordship may assure both your self and him, that I am not so carefull to mainteyne what I doe, as to doe nothing but what

I may justly mainteine. I beseech your Lordship to continue your goodnes toward me, without which mine enemies are too strong and too mightie for me. God Almightie encrease your strength and honor with long life. I take my leave and ever remaine,

Your Lordship's to be commanded
and most devoted servant,
JOHN COSIN.

Branspeth, July 26, 1629.

[Address torn off.]

Indorsed: July 26. 1629. Mr. Cosen's letter about Mr. Smart and Judge Yelverton.

LXXXIX.—FROM ROBERT BLAKISTON* TO ARCHDEACON COSIN.
[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 81.]

NEPHEW COOSINS,

I AM animated by the testimony of my kind neighbour Mr. Martin of your favourable loving speches lately spoken on my behalfe, to certifye, and, I hope, satisfye you of some aspertions, and thereby some unkindnesses worse taken then intended by either my brother Marmaduke or me, if they might peceably and without offence be examined according to the true meaning of either partye. But first give me leave to satisfye you concerning that sinfull and therfore damnable calumniation reported of me and my then maide. I protest, as in the presence of God, I never had carnall knowledge of hir or any other woman dead or living, my two wives, now with God, only excepted. For the other hard esteeme of me in difference between Mr. Braidley his Curate and me, I must neads saie I could and yet can prove sufficiently, if it were to re-examined by your selfe with free libertye and without offence taken against the witnesses, who will saie that on the 9th of May 1628, he did revile me approbriously, calling me base scurvye rascall, and strooke at me very eagerly, when I did much forbeare him, partly for that I thought he was not himselfe through his distemperature, not fitting a man of his function, but especially for my brother his sake, thinking he would have given him an open rebuke for his open miscarriage against a naturall brother, for he denied before

* Brother to Marmaduke Blakiston, the Rector of Sedgefield and Prebendary of Durham. Surtees gives no particulars respecting him in the Pedigree (Hist. Durh. iii. p. 163) except the bare name.

him with execrable imprecations that he did not misdemeane himselfe either by word or deed as I have related, which I conceived was then too much beleeved, and which, if I cannot sufficiently disprove as aforesaid, I will submitt my selfe to your hardest censure. For the other unkindnesses, I will, for my part, burye all in utter oblivion, as it becometh me in Christianitye, preparinge my selfe to receive the assured seales of my redemption and salvation at this appointed holy feast, freely forgiving and desiring forgiveness of all the world. And namely concerning my lettere to my brother, your father in lawe, I doe confesse I writt more earnestly and passionately then I should, and for that and any other thinge wherin I have given just cause of offence, I am very sorrye, and doe hartely desire you to be a meanes that we maie be conjoyned in that brotherly affection that we ought to be and formerly have bene. And so, my love remembred to you and my neece, I take leave and rest,

Your very loving uncle,

ROBT. BLAKISTON.

Durham, 22nd March, 1629.

"To my very lovinge nephew, Mr. John Coosins, one of the Prebends of the Cathedrall Churche att Durham, and Pastor of the Churche of Brandspithe, give these."

XC.—ARTICLES, OR INSTRUCTIONS FOR ARTICLES, TO BE EXHIBITED BY HIS MAJESTIE'S HEIGH COMMISSIONERS, AGAINST MR. JOHN COSIN, MR. FRANCIS BURGOINE, MR. MARMADUKE BLAXTON, DOCTOR HUNT, DOCTOR LINDSELL, MR. WILLIAM JAMES, ALL LEARNED CLERKS OF THE CATHEDRALL CHURCH OF DURHAM.* [Rawlinson MSS. A. 441, f. 28.]

1. IMPRIMIS: WE article and object unto you, Richard Hunt, Augustine Lindsell, John Cosin, Marmaduke Blaxton, Francis Burgoine, and William James, that you doe know and beleeve, that aswel at the tyme when you weare ordayned and made full ministers, as also at the tyme, when you weare admitted præbendaryes, you professed reverently to obey your Ordinary, and to submytt your selves, to the godly judgment of your superiours, and governours, *in omnibus lycitis, et honestis*, and dyd take your oathes of Canonicall obedience to your Ordynary, and subscribed to the Articles of Religion, and the booke of Common-prayer,

* In the table of contents of the MS. volume from which these Articles are taken, they are called "Articles against Durham Innovators delivered to Bishop Harsnett before the censure [of Peter Smart], August 3 1630."

appointed by the lawes of this realme to be subscribed unto, at such ordynationes, and admyssions; and moreover when you weare admytted præbendaryes of the Cathedral church of Durham, you tooke your corporall oathes to observe the statutes of the sayd church; all which your professions, subscriptions, and oathes, you have not so well observed, as ye ought to have done, especially you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine; for all Arminians in generall are the cunningest, and most pernitious enemyes, that the Church of England hath, or ever had: for, under pretence of defending the Booke of Common-prayer, and oppugning Puritans, you undermine the Church, and overthrow the walles therof; which are that Booke, with the Injunctions, Advertisments, Canons and Homilyes, unto which having subscribed, when you subscribed to the Articles of Religion, at your admissions, and ordinations, you doe not observe, but breake dayly the rules thereof. And that, it seemes, you doe to the intent you might bring in Popery againe; for why should you cast out the Lord's Tables, and erect Altars, never so called in our Church-bookes? Why make ye so many crosses, and sett up crucifixes in churches, with other images and similitudes of thinges in heaven above, and in earth beneath? Why light ye so many wax candles, to the honour of our Lady, and sett tapers and candlesticks upon your Altar, for a dumb shew, and use sundry other popish and superstitious rites, and ceremonyes, not alowed by any Canons, or Rubrickes, had you not an intention to allure the people to popish idolatry. As you, old Mr. Blaxton, sayd to a gentleman of the parish of Elwick, "Take heede of my sonn Cosin, for he wil make you all papists; if you looke not to your selves." As for you, Francis Burgoine, it is wel knowne, that your mother, and eldest brother lived and dyed notorious papists; and that you yourselfe frequent, and are well intertayned in popish howses; and that your parish of Spoford swarmes with recusants, as your parish of Wearmouth is lyke to doe, if you hold on, as you have begun, as your owne parishioners complayne. And it is constantly reported, that your selfe was once a fryer of St. Franceis his seraphicall order. But you, Dr. Lindsell, craftily lurking in corners, make bolts for your freind Cosin and others to shoote; and you are thought to sitt at the sterne of popish Arminianisme in England.

2. Item: We article and object unto you John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine, etc. that you know and beleeve, that the Booke of Common-prayer tearmeth and styleth full ministers by the name and title of Ministers, and the word *Minister* is oftner used then the word *Preist*, and that among the more learned, and moderate, and discreeter sort of men in

the Church of Christ, the calling and title of a Minister hath been, and styll is accounted, a reverent and honourable calling, and so hath ever been in the written Word of God, and Sacred Scriptures, in which a Minister of the Gospell is not so much as once called a Preist, as it is the English of *Sacerdos*, or Ἱερεύς. And therfore you Arminians are much to blame, for endevoring to corrupt the Communion booke, as some did the booke appointed for the fast, in which the word *Minister* is found but once, but the word *Preist* 45 times.

3. Item: We object that ther are other ceremonyes now used in the Cathedrall church of Durham; not used in other Cathedrall churches within this realme, nor in former tymes used in Durham, till they weare brought in by you John Cosin, and your fellowes: as, namely, standing up at the Niceen Creede, *Gloria Patri*, wearing of copes at the 2ᵈ Service; having a Second Service, so called; placing the Communion-Table, and the Font in the roomes wherin they now are, setting tapers burning, and not burning, on the Communion-Table. All which are ceremonyes unlawfull, and have been excepted against by all that are not byrds of a fether, creatures, chaplaines, and favourites, of one and the same lord and master, and no moderation befitting will serve to excuse them, being utterly unlawfull, and forbidden by the Act of Parliament for Uniformitie.

4. Item: We article and object unto you John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine, that (the præmises notwithstanding) you, nothing at all regarding the peace of the Church, but being wholy transported with affectation of singularity, and noveltyes; and with selfe-conceite, and love of popish superstitions and idolatries, have, in meere contempt of uniforme ecclesiasticall government, not only refused to observe what the Church hath commanded in removing altars and defacing images, crosses and crucifixes: but you have erected altars, and sett upp images in the church, and professedly preached in the defence of the same; using in your sermons many bitter and undecent passages, and most seditious railing, invective speeches against such as gainsaid and withstood your doings, to the greate offence and dislyke of the auditory, to the breach of the peace, and unity of the Church, and to the evil example of others. And this you did malitiously, and of sett pourpose, to make factions in the church, and citty of Durham, and other places therabouts, to the better promulgation of your hæreticall Arminianisme, and Popery, for that you being full of displeasure, against the approved and allowed rites and ceremonyes, and the fathers of our Church, which have established the same, have tearmed the Reformers of our Church ignorant and unlearned Calvinisticall bishopps. And againe,

when they tooke away the mass, they tooke away all religion, and the whole service of God, they called it a Reformation, but it was indeed a Deformation. And againe, you, John Cosin, speaking of a learned and reverent bishopp of Durham deceased, you wrote, in a booke of Articles, printed for the use of that diocess, and scurrilously tearmed him *"a buckrom bishopp,"* because he appointed poore parish-churches, being not able to procure more costly furniture, to have the Communion Table covered with buckrom, or some such decent stuff: although other before, as namely the Arch-bishopp of Yorke*, Doctor Mathew, had used the same word in his Articles for the same diocess, and other bishopps in other places.

5. Item: We article and object unto you Richard Hunt, Marmaduke Blaxton, Francis Burgoine, William James, and John Cosin, and Augustine Lindsell, that you, having brought into the Cathedrall church of Durham many superstitious ceremonyes, and popish idolatryes, with rites and formes of services both new and strange, contrary to the Booke of Common-prayer, Injunctions, and Homilyes; and being sundry tymes warned both publykly and privatly of the unlawfulnes therof, by your elder brother, Peter Smart, to whom it belonged to see the service of God performed according to the præscript forme of the Booke of Common-prayer, being a principall senior residentiary of the sayd church, wherof you all, save one, are *novitij* or *symoniaci*, freshmen or symoniaks, and consequently unlawfull Deane and governors: he, I say, being authorised, by the Injunctions, to resist your new-fangled and profane innovations, which Injunctions were published by soveraigne authority, anno 1572. with this title, *Liber quorundam Canonum disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, one of which Canons is this, (Pag. 7[a]) *Decanus et residentiarij curabunt, ne qua alia forma observetur, in canendis, aut dicendis sacris precibus, aut in administratione sacramentorum, præterquam quæ proposita est, et præscripta in libro publicarum præcum.* The Deane and residentiaryes shal take care that no other forme be observed, in singing and saying publique prayers in the church or in the administration of the sacraments, besyds that which is proposed and prescribed in the Booke of Common-prayers: which duty you Richard Hunt, John Cosin, and your fellowes, not only neglected to doe, but also changed the whole

* Grindal, Archbishop of York, in his Articles (1571), enquires whether there be "a comely and decent table, standing on a frame, for the Holy Communion, with a fayre linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering of silke, *buckram*, or other such like, for the cleane keeping thereof." A *buckram* covering is also mentioned in his Injunctions. Archbishop Sandys, in 1578, likewise appears to regard this inferior material as being sufficient to fulfil all legal requirements.

forme of service, and the administration of both the sacraments, and brought in many popish, ridiculus, and superstitious ceremonyes, not so much as mentioned in the Communion-booke and Canons, but most of them expressly disallowed, and straitly forbidden by the said Booke of Common-prayer, Injunctions, and Homilyes; which, notwithstanding, you defended in your sermons, and exhorted the people to follow them, and not exhorted only, but with great violence compel'd them. Which your elder brother, and a senior-residentiary, Peter Smart seing, and perceiving the simple people inveigled and begiled, by your popish baits and allurments of glorious pictures, and Babalonish vesturs, and excessive number of wax-candles burning at one tyme, and especially the horrible profanation of both the sacraments with all manner of musick, both instrumentall, and vocall, so lowde that the Ministers could not be heard, what they said, as if *Bacchanalia*, the feasts of Bacchus, or the Ægiptian Isis, or the Phrygian Cybele, *cum multiforis tibiis, et crepitantibus sistris;* with fluits, and bag-pipes; with tymbrells and tabers; and not the Death and Passion of our Saviour Christ were celebrated: moreover, seing the poore people of Durham miserably misled by the hypocritical seeming holynes of you all, especially you Cosin, in upstartings, downe-squattings, east-turnings, crossings and kissings altar-clothes, and the elements of bread and wine; with your frequent and profound duckings and prostrations before your most sumpteous Altar, all which your abominations, both towne and country began to imytate, to the shame of our church, and the complaynt of all well affected people in the King's dominions of England, Scotland, Walles, and Ireland. Whereupon your foresayd elder brother, according to the charge layd upon him by the Injunctions, the 27 of July 1628, in his sermon dehorted the people from following such blind guids in theire superstitious vanityes, and to follow only the Communion-booke, and practice of our churches, in the tyme when we had less ceremonious, more preaching governours. The notes of whose sermon being imperfect, and contayning more a great deale then he had preached, being delivered to you Richard Hunt, and the rest [of the] Commissioners, upon faithfull promiss that it should be sealed up till the next morning, and not opened til he the sayd Peter Smart opened it himselfe: yet by the counsayle and instigation of Augustine Lindsell, a profest disciple of that arch-heretick, and enemy of God, Arminius, and a ringleader of that cursed sect in England, you Richard Hunt, with your associats, falsly and treacherously brake your promise the same night, and the next weeke tooke unperfect coppyes and divulged them abroad, both in the north and south countryes, to the discreditt of your elder

brother, and collegue in the same Commission, and his utter undoing, if there had been any thing unwarrantable in that sermon, which hath been sifted and examined, with all the subtilty and malice the divell could affourd, at Durham, at London, at Yorke, where now it remaynes.

6. Item: We article and object that you John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, and Augustine Lindsell, have made knowne your dislyke of the usuall ceremonyes, and forme of Divine Service, and manner of administration of the Holy Communion, in the Cathedrall church of Durham. And, upon that your dislyke, you have præsumed, without authority, to reforme it againe, and to bring into the sayd Cathedrall church, new and strange rites, and order of ceremonyall service, not formerly used in the same, or in any other Cathedrall church, or Collegiate, within this realme, as shal appeare at large in the particulars following.

7. Item: We article and object, that you the sayd John Cosin, and your schismaticale adhærents, to shew and make manifest your greate dislyke of the ceremonyes, and liturgie of the Church, by lawe established, especially of those latly used in the church of Durham, and other Cathedrall and Collegiate churches within this realme, and to bring the people into the same dislyke, and therby to nourrish schisme, faction, and division in the Church of England; and to induce the people to say and thinke (as they doe) that all was not right in our church, til you had reformed the same, you have changed the whole service, and forme therof, and altred the approved, and accustomed ceremonyes, and by these courses, you have much disturbed the peace of the Church, and ministred greate cause of offence, and distraction to the weake and tender consciences of sundry inhabytants of the citty and cuntry.

8. Item: We article and object, that you John Cosin, and your fellowes, to the intent you might allure popish people and other schismaticall sectaryes, to your superstitious and idolatrous service, and ceremonyes; you have not only banished the singing of psalmes, in the vulgar tunes, by authority allowed, and in all Cathedrall churches, before and after sermons: but you have so changed the whole liturgie, that though it be not in Latin, yet by reason of the confusednes of voices of so many singers, with a multitude of melodius instruments (directly contrary to the Injunctions and Homilyes) the greatest part of the service is no better understood, then if it weare in Hebrue or Irish. Nay the Sacrament itselfe is turned wel neere into a theatricall stage play, that when men's mynds should be occupied about heavenly meditations of Christ's bitter Death and Passion, of theire owne sinnes, of faith and repentance; of the

joyes of heaven, and the torments of hell; at that very season, very unseasonably, theire eares are possest with pleasant tunes, and theire eyes fed with pompous spectacles of glittering pictures, and histrionicall gestures, representing unto us Apolloe's sollemnities in his temple at Delos, which the poett describeth in the 4th of his Æneidos:—

Instauratque choros, mistique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt, pictique Agathyrsi.

And this kind of administration of the Holy Communion, with so many pictures, and so strange gestures, and excessive musick, at the same time, is not used in any Cathedrall church of England, nor in Durham, till you John Cosin became præbendary of the same, that is within this 3 years.

9. Item: We article and object unto you John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Augustine Lindsell, and Richard Hunt, that contrary to the Communion-booke, Injunctions, Canons, Homilyes against the perills of Idolatry and superfluous Ornaments of Churches, being not content with the decent ornaments of the church, which your prædecessours thought sufficient, you would needs bestow excessive cost, in ornaments upon the quire and church, not only superfluous, but Babylonish, idolatrous, and ridiculous, therby to disgrace not only the Deanes, and Bishopps, which approved those moderate ceremonyes and ornaments which the Church of England, and all other Cathedrall Churches allowed and used: but to make the service formerly used, and other thinges, contemptible to the people, you have built a new payre of gorgius organes, which have cost at least 700li., which you command to be played upon not only at the 6 o'clock prayer in the morning, (wherby you have driven away from the church all schollars and artificers, which were wont to frequent that morning prayer, when it was short, and playnly said, so that they might understand it) but also you injoyne the organist to play upon the same organs, all the tyme that both the sacraments of Baptisme and the Holy Communion are administred, to the greate offence of religious people, which therfore refuse to receive the Sacrament in the sayd Cathedrall Church. And to pay for that goodly payre of organes, you tooke wrongfully from that worshipfull, religious, and verteous Knight, Sr John Fenwick, the lease of Biwell-Peter, which came to him lawfully by his kinsman the right honorable the Earle of Bedford; which lease, you Richard Hunt, Deane, keepe from him, and wil not suffer him to have it againe, unless he will pay the unreasonable fyne of 2000li. Moreover you gave to the late Lord Bishop of Durham, now of Winchester a payre of organs, though not so gay, yet as

good as any Cathedrall church had or hath in the province of Yorke, you gave him them, I say, to gett his approbation of all your new ceremonyes, which organes have been caried to London, and there sett to sale. And to recompence you for so great a gift, the sayd Lord Bishopp promised to give to the Church of Durham a pall, that is by interpretation, a precious golden altar-cloth, having upon it the story of the Assumption of our Lady; then which a more abominable idoll all Popery can not shew: rejected as apocryphall by the Golden Legend it selfe, and expresly forbidden to be used at the Communion-table, by the Homilyes and Injunctions. Againe you have taken away the old Font from the north-dore of the quire, where by law it ought to stand, and built another at the west end of the church; which hath cost above 120li. with the inclosure, which some of your selves have mislyked, and derided, calling it a pinfold, and the covering of the Font a capritious, and phantasticall devise*. Moreover

* In a Common-place book of Peter Smart's, preserved in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Rawl. Misc. 1079), a more detailed account is found of the erection of this Font. It is as follows:—

"Innovators in Durham, notwithstanding that every church is injoyned by the Canon 81 to have a holy Font wherein baptisme may be administered, and it must be kept comely and clean, yet they have taken out of the cathedrall church the old holy Font, which was comely, like to that in St. Paul's at London, and in other cathedralls, and instead thereof they erected a mausoleum, towring up to the roph of the church, a most sumptuous fabrike and costly, partly of wood and partly of stone, which cost about 140li., a fantasticall and caprecious peece of worke, as Mr. Linsell tearmed it, inclosed round about with rails (put in a pinfold, said Mr. Burgoin), and whereas it should be holy, comely, and clean, they have unhollowed, polluted, and disfigur'd it, not only with uncomely braveries, but with abominable idols, one of a dove, which they call the Holy Ghost (set there by Mr. Cosen, to cross the Dean, whose pellican he pul'd down feeding her yong ones with her own blood), and above the image of the Holy Ghost (as they call the wodden dove) they placed the image of the sun, as a grander deitie, most religiously ador'd by east-worshipping pagans.

"And since that time they painted most gloriously the images of Christ and John Baptist baptising Christ, and the images of the 4 evangelists standing (as it were witnesses, or God-fathers, as we tearme them) at the Font, which 6 pictures cost 20li., as the painter told mee."

"Innovators in Durham, notwithstanding that the Canons and Injunctions command that the Font be not removed, but that it shall stand in the antient usuall place, yet audaciously contrarie to uniforme order and authoritie, they have often times removed the Font, within the compass of 6 yeares.

"First from the north dore of the quire, over against the pulpit (which is the antient usuall place, where it stood time out of minde), to the north dore, neer to the west end of the church, att which dore all the people of the cittie enter into the church.

"There when it stood about 2 yeres, they carried it to the Galilee, or consistorie, dore, at the west end, at which no bodie enters into the church, where it remained other two yeares.

"From thence they removed it again to the south dore of the church at the west end of the cloister, which is never opened for people to goe in and out, but only for the bringing in of morter, lime, stone, and timber, &c., wher it hath rested ever sence: irregularly, for it stands not in the antient usuall place. It hath stood in 4 places within 6 years."

you have sett up many images about the quire, some of the angells, in long scarlett gownes, greene petticotes, golden winges, and gilded heades: and you John Cosin, Treasurer, and Richard Hunt, Deane, varying in opiniones what colours were best, have painted, and repainted, put on, and washt off colours, still crossing one another in your conceits, trying all manner of colours upon your images: and you could fynd no end of your disagrement, till you had taken the counsayle of your painter, a popish recusant, who told you that nothing can be too good for the church, the colour of gould was the best colour; and so you resolved to uncolour them againe, and to make them all golden idolls. And because you thought in your religious wisdomes, that it were not befytting, the image of poore Christ, above the Bishop's throne, should be all of shyning gould and scarlett, as gay as the 50 glorius angells, by the counsayle of the foresayd popish paynter, you thought good to honor him with a golden beard, and a new blew capp, like a potlidd, covering his head with rayes like the sunn beames. This being concluded and done, the long warr, civill and intestine, ceased betweene Deane Hunt, and John Cosin, Treasurer. And from that tyme forward they made a league, and joyned theire forces against Peter Smart, an old præbendary, and perpetuall adversary of theire superstitious vanityes, poperyes, and fooleryes. Againe, you Richard Hunt, Deane, with your associats, holding a conventicle in the Castle of Durham, among other decrees that you made without the King's authority, (and, consequently, by the 12th canon, you are all excommunicated *ipso facto*) you ordayned that the old Communion-table of wood, which had been used and approved by all Deanes and Bishopps above 50 yeares, should be cast out of the church, which was done, and in place therof you have sett up a double table, very sumpteous, of stone, which you always call the Altar. This Altar stands upon 6 stone pillers curiously polished, and fastened to the ground, having upon every black pillar 3 cherubim-faces, as white as snow, and it is placed at the end of the quire, along by the wall, with neither side toward the north, al which is contrary to the Booke of Common-prayer, and Injunctions, which command it to be a portable table, and to stand, when the Communion is administred, in the middest of the church or chancell, where morning and evening prayers are appointed to be sayd; which evening praier is never said where the table standeth now: and that the Minister should stand at the north syde of the table, which cannot be done when neither syde of the Table standeth northward. Moreover you have adorned the place where your Altar standeth, with paintings and gildings, againe and againe, I know not how often, insomuch that it hath cost, besydes the

furniture, above 160li. Agreable to it you have provided much Altar furniture, and many massing implements, crucifixes, candlesticks, tapers and basons, and copes*, one taken from mass-

* It would appear from a statement in Smart's Common-place book, which seems to be corroborated by an entry in the Chapter Books in Cosin's hand-writing, that vestments, properly so called, or chasubles, had previously been in use in Durham Cathedral. Smart, of course, writes with scorn and ridicule respecting the particular vestments to which he refers, but he is clearly describing chasubles in the extract we are about to give. He says, "that is not a decent cope which is no cope at all, but a gay curtal'd vestment, reaching scarse down to the knee, of which our Durhamers had 2, condemned and forbidden by the Bishop in his Visitation, and some other of the præbendaries, which tearmed them jackets, tunicles, heralds' coats, etc., etc."—Rawl. MSS. Cosin's entry in the Acts of Chapter is as follows:—"It is further agreed that the three vestments, and one white cope, now belonging to the Vestry of this Church, shall be taken and carried to London, to be altered and changed into fair and large copes, according to the Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England. And that allowance shall be made to the Treasurer of the money that shall be expended therein by the direction of the Lord Bishop of Durham." This entry is dated 12 June, 1627. It is probable that the Bishop conceived that copes more literally fulfilled the obligation of the Canon than the vestment or chasuble, and it is more than probable, also, that, for obvious reasons, there would be less prejudice against the use of the former than the latter. For it is worthy of note that Smart, bitter Puritan though he was, does not appear to have objected against the use of the cope *per se*, provided it were what he calls "a *decent* cope." "I blame them not," he says, "for buying copes, if they had been such as the Church of England allows, to witt, decent copes, but for procuring and using undecent and unlawfull copes." Their "undecency" and "unlawfulness" appears, from what follows, to have consisted in the richness and costliness of their embroidery, and in the imagery which adorned them, and, worse than all, in the fact that the very identical vesture with which he was bidden to clothe himself, had once been actually worn by a priest of the unreformed Church. Cf. also his Sermon, p. 25. The copes which formed the subject of so much bitter invective on the part of Smart, are still preserved, as is well known, in the Library of Durham Cathedral. Additional interest attaches to them from the fact of their having been worn at the celebration of the Holy Communion in that Cathedral down to a comparatively recent period. An unpublished diary, kept by Gyll, a local antiquary, who was Attorney-General to Egerton, Bishop of Durham, has the following entry respecting their discontinuance:—"1759: at the latter end of July or beginning of August the old copes (those raggs of Popery) which had been used at the communion service at the abbey ever since the time of the Reformation were ordered by the d. and ch. to be totally disused and laid aside. Dr. Warburton, one of the prebendaries and bp. of Gloucester, was very zealous to have them laid aside, and so was Dr. Cowper the dean." No such order, however, appears amongst the Acts of Chapter, and indeed it may well be supposed that some hesitation might be felt as to the formal enrollment of an order which directly contravened one of the Canons of the Church, however little individual members of the body might be disposed to render obedience to its requirements. Silently, however, the use of the copes was abandoned about that time, or shortly afterwards, and they are only cared for now as interesting relics of a by-gone time. A brief account of them, extracted from a Paper on Mediæval embroidery, by G. E. Street, Esq., F.S.A., published in the Ecclesiologist for October, 1863, may not be unacceptable. After some remarks on the class of embroidery which belonged to the 15th and 16th centuries, Mr. Street goes on to say:—"The vestments preserved in the Library of the Cathedral of Durham, are of this late age and character, and save from their extremely decayed state, would give a very fair idea of its style. The best of them, I think, is a cope of magnificent blue cloth of gold, one of the finest examples I have seen of this kind of fabric. The orphreys, or borders, contain the following

preists, adorned with images, and having the picture of the Blessed Trinity on the cape therof, wrought in gold very bravly, which cope was caryed about the towne, from alehowse to alehowse, from taverne to taverne, and could not be sold till Ferdinand Morecroft, the thriftie Treasurer of the church of Durham bought it, to save some charges, and with it another old, rotten ridiculus robe, (which they say cost 3^{s}. iiij^{d}.) used by the boyes and wenches of Durham above 40 yeares in theyre sports and May-games. These Babylonish and pibald robes, you Francis Burgoine brought to the Lord's Table, which the people seing, thought, and sayd, some of them, they should have a play; others in detestation of your impyeties and vanityes, have determined never to communicate, in the same church, againe,

eight subjects. (1.) The betrayal. (2.) The scourging. (3.) Our LORD bearing the cross. (4.) Our LORD nailed to the cross. (5.) The Resurrection. (6.) The incredulity of S. Thomas, (7.) The Ascension, and (8.) The descent of the HOLY GHOST. On the head is the figure of our LORD seated, with angels round him; but little, if any, of this last is original work. The canopies over the subjects deserve study, being good examples of a rich uncommon form of canopy, which though derived no doubt from stone canopies, is nevertheless very ingeniously adapted for embroidery, and does not give the idea of being a mere imitation of stone-work. The band, for fastening across the neck, remains on this cope, and is embroidered with a coat of arms. . . . . The subjects are elaborately drawn and charmingly coloured. The gradations of tints are generally rather sudden, and must be more so in proportion to the distance from which they are to be seen. The diapers on the gold ground are made without cord, by leaving the gold thread loose and unstitched in parts. Gold bullion is introduced in some parts of the work, as, e. g. to form flowers on the ground. Finally, the borders are worked in one piece, and the work is not *appliqué*, and consequently requires very narrow edgings. Another of these copes is of purple velvet, and is powdered with seraphs and conventional sprigs of precisely the same design that we see in many specimens in other parts of England. There is an embroidered cross on the back of this cope, with a crucifix, and the emblems of the Evangelists on it, and the border has very richly embroidered figures of saints. The seraphs and sprigs on this cope may be compared with the Bircham and Emneth sprigs, with which they are nearly identical. The third is a red velvet cope, diapered with seraphs and two-headed eagles, and conventional flowers. The orphreys have single figures in niches, the red edging to this, is, I need hardly say, modern. A fourth cope is of blue velvet, and has on the border, which is red, a chalice and wafer embroidered, and a figure of S. Margaret is worked on the hood; it is diapered with a very good flower, which is repeated also on the band. On these sprigs you will see the use of spangles and tendrils. The latter are of the usual twisted gold thread and silk, with a double line of yellow silk in a sort of chain stitch on one side. The bindings of the sprigs are white on the upper edges, and yellow on the lower edges. This cope has a modern border. These four are all mediæval vestments, but there is another which is even more interesting, as having been given to the church (as I understand) by Charles the First. It is of crimson satin, powdered all over with stars, and David with Goliath's head is worked on the hood; the border is covered with cherubs. This is the latest English cope I know, but I believe those at Westminster Abbey are much more modern." The embroidered cross and crucifix on the back of one of the copes has doubtless belonged to an old chasuble. The cross in one form or other always decorated the chasuble, probably from a very early period. The cope, which was a processional garment only, was not distinguished in this way.

till thinges be amended, and reduced to the state and forme they were in, in Bishop James his time. These, and such lyke your abominations and superstitions and idolatryes, because your elder brother and ancient præbendary, Peter Smart, mislyking and preaching to the people 27th of July, dehorted and disswaded (as in conscience and by the Canons he was bound to doe) the congregation there assembled, from your superstitious vanityes, and admonishing them to take heede, and avoide the scandalls, and stumbling blocks which popish and Arminian Balaamits, lay before Gods people, to make them fall into spirituall fornication; you Francis Burgoine, preaching in the same Cathedrall church, before the Judges, in August following, maliciously and venemously inveighed and rayled upon your elder brother, Peter Smart, tearming him a Caine, a Cham, a Judas, etc., to the great offence of many there assembled at that tyme; whose wicked example you, John Cosin, following, within a short tyme after, more audaciously, and scurrilusly (as your manner is) sparing nether prince nor prælate, nor privat persons, in the same place you rayled upon the same your ancient brother, calling him a Judas, a Puritan, a schismatique, and what not: saying, "there is one among us which dislyketh that so much cost should be bestowed upon the church ornaments, not so much in regard of the ornaments, but because he is a Judas, and is carefull to save his purse, he thinkes all too much that is spent upon Christ." This, and much more, sayd that blasphemous wrech Cosin, meaning, as it seimes, by Christ, the image of Christ, and other idolls, and superstitious vanityes in Durham church, upon which above 1600li. hath latly ben bestowed, contrary to the Homilyes against the perill of Idolatry and superfluus ornaments of churches, &c., the compylers of which Homilyes, Bishop Cranmer, Ridley, and other Fathers and Reformers of our Church, the said Cosin, and his fellowe Arminians, stick not to call Calvinisticall Bishops, and *de*formers, not *re*formers: nay, as they intimate, very Judases, because they allow not of images in churches, and account the ornaments bestowed on them to be superfluus. And therfore they wish that those Homilyes against Idolatry myght be putt out of the Booke. Not long after, a little before Michelmas last, one Thomas Blaxton*, Vicar of Allerton, following the foote-stepps of old Burgoine, and yong Cosin his brother in law, made in the same Cathedral church, a

* Thomas Blakiston, M.A., became Vicar of North-Allerton in 1628. He was also Prebendary of Wistow in the Cathedral Church of York. To this he probably succeeded on the death or resignation of his father, Marmaduke Blakiston. He was ejected from his preferments during the Civil Wars, 1640-1.—Surtees' Hist. Durh. iii. p. 163.

ridiculus preachment, and besyds many foolish passages, he used this: "Paule," sayd he, "had a Jew to persecute him; but our Paule," meaning as was conceived by them that heard him, his brother John Cosin, "our Paule hath a præcicion to persecute him, which speaks against the religious organs and the harmless surplus, and the innocent cope." Thus these 3 præchers made the pulpitt a place to vent theire venemous malice, to the intent they might strengthen theire sect and schisme, by making the sayd Peter Smart odius to the people, whom they slanderously accused to the people, to be an enemy to all Cathedrall churches, and laudable ceremonyes, because he oppugneth and withstandeth theire prophane innovations, superstitions and idolatryes.

10. Item: We article and object unto you John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, that trayterously and hæretically you teach and maintayne that . . . . . .

[*A leaf of the MS. wanting here.*]

be to the Father, etc. is sayd, or sung, he is no good Christian, he denyeth his baptisme; and this you did seditiusly and factiusly, to rayse schismes, and divisions in the Church, and to breake the peace therof, to the intent you might draw disciples and followers to your sect, and trouble the consciences of the weake and symple, which could not sound the depths of your satanicall drift and purpose, for thus they sayd: "Alas, alas, what is become of all the Bishopps, Deanes, and præbendaries which are dead? We thought them learned and good men, yet they never observed these new ceremonyes, of bowing to the Altar, of worshipping toward the east, of standing up at *Gloria Patri*. Did they all renounce theire baptisme? Then they are all damned, as we also shalbe if we stand not up, and turning our faces to the east, make low legges to the Altar, as Mr. Burgoine, and Mr. Cosin doe and teach." Thus with your phantasticall, and superstitius ceremonyes, you have trobled the Church of Christ, rashly, presumpteusly, and divelishly condemned, not only our grave and reverend prædecessours, but, all, both Cathedrall and parish churches in England, or rather in Christendome, which use not the signe of the Cross, at other tymes besyds Baptisme, and which stand not up at every *Gloria Patri*, but sytt or kneele, as most Christians doe: you condemn them, I say, for renouncers of theire fayth, and profession in Baptisme, and consequently to be no better than Jewes, Turkes, or pagans, as you, John Cosin, playnly tearmed John Symms, and half a score more in Durham Church, when, in the tyme of divine service, you thrust them out by the head and shoulders, saying with a lowd voice, "Gett you out, what doe you heere you

Pagans?" And another tyme you, John Cosin, sayd to some gentlewomen, sitting quietly when other stood when the Niceen creed is song, you, I say, going to theire pue, sayd in the audience of many, "I pray you stand, I pray you stand;" and catching a gentlewoman by the sleeve, you tore her sleeve, with these reprochfull words, "Can ye not stand, ye lazie sowes?" With such outragious deeds, and wordes *, you have so terrifyed the people of Durham, that for feare of indangering theire salvation, by renouncing theire fayth, and baptisme, now they dare not but daunce after your phantasticall pipe in every idle ceremony.

Againe, to the great perill of your owne and others soules, that beleeve your hæreticall doctrine, you teach and preach, with purpose to confute the true doctryne of the Church of England maintained by your elder brother, Peter Smart, in his sermon preached the 27th of July, 1628; you teach, I say, openly in the pulpitt, that Christ was not sent of God to be the last preist

* In Smart's Common-place book, from which a quotation has already been given, occur several entries of Questions and Answers, apparently memoranda of Queries put to Smart (probably when he was examined by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1640 with reference to the accusations preferred against Cosin), and of his Answers thereto. Amongst them are the following, relating to the above allegations:—

"*Quest.* With whom did Mr. Cosin brawle and fight in the time of divine service for the observation of ceremonies?

"*Ans.* 1. He brawled in the church with the Dean himself about the gentlewomen which would not stand when he bade them; whose pew he locked up and afterwards nailed because they would not stand, and again with him about the lighting of 3 or 4 candels upon each candlesticke on the altar.

"2. He called the same gentlewomen lazie sows, and tare their sleeves, because they refused to stand. Mrs. Smith and her daughter Heath *, and her son Mr. Baker's wife, of Newcastle.

"3. He strocke John Wren †, the Dean's servant, a gentleman, for sitting before him in the quire, for which he was indited at the quarter sessions.

"4. He thrust Jhon Sims and half-a-dozen more out of the quire cauling them Pagans, when they stood quietly hearing divine service.

"5. He sent the virgerer about the church to remove straingers, and make them goe away because they sate with their backs toward the east, though there were no altar behind them, at morning prayer.

"6. He sent him, the said officer, about, to make men stand when creeds were song, and to kneel when prayers were song, though they understood not one word, nor knew whether they were prayers or creeds."—Rawl. MSS. Miscell.

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* Margaret, wife of John Heath, of Old Durham, Esq., was the daughter of William Smith, of Durham, Counsellor-at-law, by Mary his wife, who was the widow of Oswald Baker, of the city of Durham. Her son, "Mr. Baker of Newcastle," became Recorder of that place, and received the honour of knighthood. He was one of the principal persons who conducted the defence of Newcastle on the side of the King when it was beleaguered by the Scots in 1644. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Liddell, of Ravensworth Castle, Esq. (afterwards Baronet) and was ancestor of the Bakers of Crook, and of the celebrated antiquary Thomas Baker.—Surtees' Hist. Durh. ii. p. 358, and iv. part ii. p. 70.

† Probably John Wren, a younger son of Sir Charles Wren, of Binchester, Knt.

which should offer the last sacryfice, upon the last altar that ever the world should have, and that Christ's Church hath yett preists, sacryfices and altars, truly and properly so called. And these heresyes, with others, you not only broched at Durham, but you have labored to maintayne the same sundry tymes at Newcastle, and Warmouth, bidding the people not to feare nor doute to call it an Altar, because it is a true Altar, and ought so to be called (contrary to the speach of your Mother the Church of England, which alwayes calls it a Table, never so much as once an Altar, in the Booke of Common-prayer, Canons, Injunctions, Homilyes). And to confyrme your speaches, you, Francis Burgoine, tooke out of your church at Warmouth the Communion-table, you lockt it up in your house, and not only denyed, but violently deteyned the sayd Table from the church-wardens calling for it; in steede wherof you erected an Altar made of a grave-stone, in the east end of your chancell, set upon a wall and not a frame, which being adorned with gilded hanginges, you worship, and bow downe your body before it, so profoundly, that you dash sometyme your nose to the ground, til you make it bleede, making therby knowne to the world, that you love your lord god the Altar with all your heart, with all your soule, and with all your strength; on which you thinke no cost too much to bestow, even your blood and lyfe. Againe, you disallow as erroneus, and accuse your brother, the sayd Peter Smart, for saying these words: "To revive therfore, and rayse up againe Jewish types and fygurs long since dead and buried, in bringing in Altars in steed of Tables, Preists in steed of Ministers, propitiatory sacrifyces, in steed of Sacraments, is it not Antichristian præsumption and sacrilegius impyety, robbing Christ of his honour, and us of our salvation? What is it els, but an apostasy, and a publique protestation to renounce the only sacrifyce, and the only sacrifycer, Christ Jesus, etc.*" You, John Cosin, you, Francis Burgoine, you, learned Lindsell, the oracle of our Arminian sectaryes, is not this agreable to the doctryne of Christ himselfe? whose last words upon the cross weare, when he had offred the sacrifyce of his body, of which all former sacrifyces had been shadowes and fygurs: *Consummatum est.* Sayth not St. Paule that Christ had *ἀπαράβατον ἱερωσύνην,* a preisthood that could not pass, or be resigned to another? Sayth not Epiphanius, *Christus est victima, Sacerdos, Altare, Deus et Homo, omnia in omnibus pro nobis factus?* All the orthodox divines of our reformed churches, and all the Fathers, especially St. Jerome affyrmeth and sayeth, that to hold any one Jewish type and fygure, as a part of the ceremoniall law, is to renounce Christ himself.

* Smart's Sermon, 1628, pp. 9, 10.

11. Item: We article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Augustine Lindsell, and Richard Hunt, etc., that you discovered playnly the rancor of your malice, against your elder brother, Peter Smart, both by your subsequent and præcedent invectives, and rayling passages, not only in the pulpitt, but in your letters to certayne Bishopps of the province of Canterbury, and in other letters to the Archbishopp of York, in the malicious suspension you made in the middest of his residence, in the most injurious sequestration you made of his præbend, contrary to the statutes of our church, and your oath; in the false and slandrous articles exhibited against the sayd Peter Smart at London, at Yorke, at Durham; all which letters, suspension, sequestration, and articles *, are so fraught with diabolicall calumnyes, and lyes, to make him seeme to be a seditious person, a malitious rayler, a schismatick, a puritane, an enemy to all Cathedrall churches, a contemner of his governours, a disobedient person to the laws and statutes, careless of his oath, a vilifyer of the Communion-booke and Canons, a derider of the lawfull and laudable ceremonyes of the Church, a factious and scurrilus man, and lastly an enemy to the peace of the Church. All which opprobrius tearmes, you have disgorged and vomited out, very unchristianlyke, heathnishly, brutishly, more lyke barking doggs then men and brethren, because he, the sayd Peter Smart, having bene above 30 yeares a member of the Cathedrall church of Durham (of which none of you, except one, have been above 11 years), and being sore greived to see the strange innovations, superstitions and idolatryes latly brought in by you into the sayd church, contrary to the Booke of Common Prayer, Injunctions and Canons, because he testifyed his dislyke of these alterations, and with all gentlenes and moderation opposed himself from tyme to tyme, against your violent and irreligious enterpryses; therfore you have and doe stil persecute him with deadly hatred, yourselves being guilty of all the faults you lay to his charge: for you (being most of you Arminian sectaryes, or favourers therof) are indeed malicious raylers, seditious schismatiques, factius and scurrilus vilifyers of the King's authority, and the ancient governours and reformers of the Church, contemners of the Communion-booke and Canons, slanderours of our prædecessours and fathers, turbulent persons, and enemyes to peace. You have corrupted the church of Durham, with new ceremonyes, neither lawfull nor laudable; and by the example of it you have endevored to poyson all other Cathedrall churches of this realme, yea, and parish churches alsoe. You

* See Acts of the High Commission (Pub. Surtees Soc.), p. 198 *et seq.*

endevor to imytate, and come as neere as possibly you dare, or can, to the whore of Babylon, the church of Rome, whose bastardly broode, the preists and Jesuits, despising the playne simplicity and modest attyre of that grave matron Christ's holy spouse, have turned her officers all out of doores, with all her howshould stuff, her tables, her cupps, her bookes, her Communions, the very names of her ministers, and such lyke words used by the Holy Ghost throughout the New Testament. In steede wherof the words Preist and Altar are taken up by them, because without preist no sacryfice can be offred, without preist and sacrifyce there is no use of an altar, and without all three, preist, sacrifyce, and altar, ther can be no Mass. But the Mass comming in, bringes with it an inundation of ceremonyes, crosses and crucifixes, and chalices, and images, copes and candlesticks, and tapers, and basonns, with a thousand such trynketts which attend upon the mass. All which have bene seene in the Cathedrall church of Durham, since the Communion-table was turned into an Altar, which indeede is no altar, but a Table, alwayes so called in the Scripture, and all our Church-bookes, in none of which it is so much as once named an Altar; yett it pleaseth you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, and your fellowes, Duncan, Morecroft, etc., to tearme it an Altar, and not once in a 1000 tymes to name it a table: chusing to imitate the language of the whore of Babylon, rather then the tong of your mother the Church of England.

12. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, etc., that notwithstanding that Origen writeth thus in his treatise on Matthew: *Veniente Principe sacerdotum*, the Prince of preists being come, the preist in figure ceaseth; the temple made with stones is destroyed, to give place to the temple made of lyving stones: *Effossum est Altare, quod erat deorsum*, the Altar below on earth was broken downe, because the heavenly Altar had appeared: by which we see, that being past and gone, true Christians have now nothing to doe with them; ever synce theire Lord's death, they have left them both to Jewes and gentills, to witt, preists and altars, notwithstanding all thys, the whore of Babylon's bastardly broode, doting upon their mother's bewty, that painted harlott the church of Roome, have labored to restore her all her robes, and jewells againe, especially her looking-glass the Mass, in which she may behold all her bravery; therfore we object against you, Francis Burgoine, and you, John Cosin, that you imytate too much the whore of Babylon's bastardly broode, the preists and Jesuits which labour tooth and nayle to bring in the mass againe, with all robes and trinketts, belonging thereunto: for you maintayne both in sermons, and

private conference, that our Church hath true preists, and true altars, and they ought so to be called, you very latly brought into our church much altar-furniture, and many massing-implements, crucifixes sett on the Altar, as you call it, tapers and basons, and candlesticks, etc., none of which are allowed by the Booke of Common-prayer, or Injunctions, but they are forbidden; and besyde them you have provided abominable copes, imbroidred with images, not of saynts only, but of God himselfe, forbidden by the Injunctions, and Booke of Homilyes against the perill of Idolatry: which copes you use every Sonday and Holyday to say prayers in them at the Communion-table, contrary to the express words of the Canons, and Advertisments, which command only surplices, and not copes, to be used, save only at the administration of the Holy Communion. Againe, you, John Cosin, in your private talke, have defended the Mass to be a good thing, or a good word, and you have blamed the fathers of our Church for taking away the Mass, calling theire *Re*formation a *De*formation. These, and such lyke sayings and doings, smell rankly of Popery, and love of the Mass.

13. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, etc., that continuing styll in your presumpteous opposition against our prædecessours, which reform'd this Church, against the King's lawes in the booke of Common-prayer, Canons, Injunctions, and Statuts, and against Christ himself, who teacheth (Math. xxiii. 18) that the Altar is greater then the sacrifice, because the Altar sanctifieth it, and therfore he tearmeth the Scribes and Pharises fooles and blinde, because they taught the contrarie; yet ye, Cosin, Burgoin, and Linshell (following blinde popish priests which allwaies call it an Altar, never the Lord's Table), not only call it an Altar, but yee advance it above the Body of Christ, making his Bodie a sacrifice sanctified by the Altar. And allthough the Communion-booke, Injunctions, Canons, Statutes, Advertisements, and Homilies, tearme it the Lord's Table, not Altar, appointing it to be placed at the Administration of the Holy Communion, both in Cathedrall and Parish-churches, in the body of the church or chancell, where morning and evening prayers are appointed to be said, and so to stand that the Minister may stand at the north side of the Table: yet ye, like bold and blinde buzards, contradicting both Christ and the lawes of the realme, you will seldome or never call it otherwise, then by the name of an Altar, you will maintain it both publikly in the pulpit and privately in your conferences, that it is a true Altar, and must be called so. And prætending the example of St. Paul's in London, and other Cathedrall churches, you will needs sett it at the east end of the church,

where no part of the evening prayer is ever said, and all morning prayer never, contrarie to the rubrike directly. Again, you have lately so set it, that the Minister can not possibly stand on the north side of the Table, ther being neyther side standing northward, and contrarie to the example either of Saint Paul's church, or any other, you, Richard Hunt, have cast out the Communion-table of woode, which was light and portable, and you have erected a mightie Altar of stone, unmoveable, fastned to the ground, and standing (being a doble table, one below, of which ther is no use at all, and another above) upon 6 pillars, upon which are curiously wrought nine pair of white cherubime faces. You beautified the same Altar with paintings and gildings, and hangings and coverings of silke, and velvet, of silver and gold, so brave and glorious that all the Altars in England (for so our popish Arminians have lately begun to tearme all Communion-tables) I say all Altars may cast ther caps at our Durham Altar, which hath cost, with the furniture belonging therunto, above 3000li. And because your elder brother, Peter Smart, prebendarie and senior residenciarie, hath reprehended your follies and superstitious vanities, and shewed unto you the unlawfullnes of your doings, you, Burgoin, Blaxton, Linsell, and Cosin, use continuall invectives against him, and railings, calling him in the pulpit, in your Court of High Commission, and in all your Articles against him at Durham, London, and Yorke, sometimes a Judas, carrying the purse, and repining that so much cost should be bestowed upon Christ, sometimes a Puritan, a Præcisian, a schismatike, a blasphemer, a seditious person, a Martin Marprelate. Moreover, when your Altar was thus with excessive cost decked, and garnished, to the admiration of the beholders, you, Richard Hunt, Dean, calling the quire-men all before you, petty canons, singing-men, choristers, who by the statutes of the church are injoined to doe reverence by making legs to the Dean, you, I say, told them, that you would have them doe reverence to the Altar, you car'de not whether they made legs to you or no, but you bade them be sure to make legs to the Altar: your self giving them an example, who, when you have done all your praiers to God upon your knees, then rising up and standing on your feet, before your departure, you will not be so unmanerly as to turne youre backe to the Altar, having not taken your leave of God with a lowe leg to him at the Altar, which you make very solemnly, with marvelous devotion and humilitie; condemning therby all the Deans, your prædecessors, of impietie and profanes for not observing that new found ceremonie, so holy, so goodly and plausible. And you, Augustine Linsell (supposed to be the principall composer of those spitefull

and slanderous London and Yorke Articles against your brother Smart), you have ben seen, when you ministred the Communion in the Cathedrall church of Durham, and it hath ben observed that taking up the Body of Christ (as you call it) after consecration, and holding it in your hand, you made a low leg to the Altar, and before you set it downe againe, you bowed your self devoutely, and worshipped the Altar. You yelded no reverence at all to Christ's Body, neyther when you held it in your own, nor when you had delivered it into the receavers' hands. What is it to præferre a stone, or a peece of wood, before the Body of Christ, yf this be not? to bow to his Altar, and not to his Body? to make many legs to the King's chaire, and none to the King himself? And this is evident by your daily practise, for the Altar is every day worshipped with bowing to it, though ther be no Communion nor any man ther. Christ's Body is not worshipped with bowing to it, no not at the Communion. Is not this worse then poperie? The Papists doe reverence to the Altar for Christ's Bodye's sake, which they hold to be ther really præsent. You little regard Christ's Body, whether præsent or absent, but you bow down to the Altar, some of you so low, that you touch the ground with your noses.

14. Item: we article and object against you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoin, etc., that you being gentelly admonished and reproved, for your horrible profanation of God's House, the church, with your new superstitious ceremonies and idolatries, especially for erecting Altars, and worshipping them, you call the godly admonitions of your elder brother, Peter Smart, whom you should reverence for his age and experience, having been a member of Durham church 32 yeres, under the government of many Bishops and Deans, your selves being but yesterday prebendaries, and upstart reformers, or rather deformers of the Church-service and ceremonies, his admonitions you uncharitably call bitter raylings, and invective speaches, and slanders, and scurrilous scoffings; your selves being ridiculous plaiers, rather then præchers, scurrilous ribalds, litle better then barking and biting dogs, calling the people in the church, even in time of divine service, some lazie sows, some dirtie whores, some pagans, and likning your Soverane Prince to your hors-keeper, this is worse then scurrilitie. And although, in excuse of your idolatrous Altar worshipping, you minse it out, that, when you come first into the quire, you bowe against the Communion-table with reverence and respect only to God and his House, which in Holy Scripture is called the House of Praier, yet it is manifest that you doe it not only to God and his House, because it is the House of Prayer; for then should you bow but once, and as well

toward the Font, the Pulpit, the Reader's Deske, the Bible, and the Common Praier-booke, for these appertain as much to the House of God, the House of Praier, as doth the Bible, or Altar as you tearme it. But you being down right Altar-worshippers, little regarding eyther prayers or preaching, or reading God's Word at the Deske or Font, when Baptisme is administered, as yf ther were more dignitie and holiness in one Sacrament then another, you bow to the Altar only when ther is no Communion, nor any man there, turning your backs to the people, and preacher, and reader, the Bible and the Font, towards none of which you, or your disciples, doe any reverence at all, as yf God, or God's House, were only at the Altar. Moreover, you doe not that reverence only at your first coming into the church, but when you stand close by the Table, ten or twelve times in one houre, and you teach others so to doe, going backwards with ther faces towards the east and making legs to the Altar, so low sometimes, that ther noses touch the ground; to the great offence of religious people, to whom you make your selves verie ridiculous, and to the discouragment of many godly and honest persons from coming to Divine Service which they see polluted with manifold profanations, brought in and maintained by our absurd ceremonie-mongers, and new fangled innovators, such as Montanus and Tertullian were in the Primitive Church, which Tertullian learned Chemnitius affirmeth to have been the author *omnium ferè ceremoniarum papisticarum*, in a manner of all popish ceremonies.

15. Item: we object against you, Richard Hunt, Francis Burgoin, John Cosin, Marmaduke Blaxton, &c., that you, to shew your newfanglednes or affectation of novelties, to cross the doings of our wise and religious prædecessors, bewraying your ignorance of the Sacrament of Baptisme, as yf it were not of equall worthines and holines with the Communion, and manifesting your præsumption in disobeying the Canons of the Church, you not only make no legs to the Font, it being an Altar, as well as the Table, and so termed in the Primitive Church by Prudentius*, but you have cast it quite out of the quire, pur-

* "Christ is as much present there, and as really, and the Font is an Altar as well as the Table, and so it was termed in the primitive Church by Prudentius, who lived 1300 years agoe. Who, speaking of a combate between Chastity and Lust, after Chastity had killed Lust:—

——— *Abolens Baptismati labem*
Catholico in Templo divini Fontis ad aram
Consecrat gladium.

Having washed away her spots in Baptisme she consecrates her sword, wherewith she slew her enemie, to the Catholick Church, and hangs it up, *Fontis ad Aram*, at the Altar of the Font. Loe here the Font also is called an Altar."—Smart's Sermon, p. 15.

posely as it seemes to disgrace Baptisme: the Canons injoining that the Font shall not be removed, but that it shall stand in the auncient usuall place: yet you have removed it from the north dore of the quire, directly before the pulpit, and neare to the place where service is read, where it stood time out of minde, and you placed it first at the north dore, where it abode about one yeare, then at the west end of the church, where it stood about 2 or 3 yeres; after that at the south dore, where it now remains. All which places are so farre from the pulpit, and the place where service is read, that the people at the Font can no more heare what is said in the quire, then they that are in the steeple can doe. So that indeed you have cast the Font quite out of the church: for though it be *in templo*, in part of that vast fabrike, yet it is not *in ecclesiâ*, the church, where the congregation at any time assemble to heare the service read, or God's Word preached, there being neyther pulpit at the Font, nor pue for the Minister, nor seats for the people, nor Bible, nor deske to lay it on, without which the whole service can not be said. And that this in your opinion is true, you, John Cosin, and Marmaduke Blakston, made it manifest the 7th of August 1628, when a child was christned at the Font, at the west end of the church, after the second lesson at evening praier. You commanded the organist to play, and the singers to goe on in the rest of the service in the quire, at the time that the Sacrament of Baptisme was administred without the quire: and this was done with such a noise of organs and singers, that the Minister and people could not heare one another at the Font, to the great disturbance of that sacred Sacrament, and offence of the whole congregation, which grievously complaind of your præsumptious irregularitie. Which thing you 2, Cosin and Blaxston, being wise and learned Archdeacons, would never have done had you thought the Font to be as much in the church as the quire is. For you never heard of 2 sermons, at one and the same instant, in one and the same church. Thus to advance and grace your worshipfull Altar, at the top of the church, you have disgraced and vilified the poore Font, which is the laver of regeneration, by tossing it from post to piller, from dore to dore, till you had cast it quite out of the church, to a remote place, where the congregation is never assembled to heare service, or sermons.

16. Item: we article and object against you, Richard Hunt, John Cosin, Francis Burgoin, that you having scornfully abused and disgraced the gratious Font of regeneration (though lately you have carved it and trim'd it as the Pharises did when they had slain the prophets; to make them amends they bestowed white sepulchres upon ther dead carkasses), and having erected

an high Altar (as you call it) as farre from the congregation as possibly you could, thither you ascend dayly, and upon Sundays and Holydays in copes, to say part of Morning Service, and 2 or 3 prayers after sermons, for the saying of which prayers copes are put on again, contrarie to the example of all Cathedrall churches in England, and contrarie to the express words of the Canons, which command no praiers to be said at the Communion-table in copes, but in surplices, save only at the Administration of the Holy Communion, fanatically and phantastically thinking, and making seely seduced girls beleeve, that the service, and praiers said at the Altar in the east, and in copes, are more holy and effectuall then those that are said at the Communion-table, or Deske in the body of the church or chancell, yea though the people heare not a word with understanding (as is done at Mr. Burgoyn's Altar in Warmouth church, and Mr. Cosin's in Branspeth). And you sharply tax your brother, Peter Smart, for telling you "All things in the church must be done to ædification:" which then is best when the Minister abides with the people, or they draw neer to him. He may not run away in a cope as farre as he can gett him from the congregation. What Momus can reprehend these words, being agreable to God's Word, and both the rules and practise of our own, and all reformed churches? Yet there are snarling dogs in Durham and Yorke, that barke at him, and bite him too, for saying so; as likewise for asking these questions: "Why sing they the Niceene Creed in a cope at the Altar, the Booke of Common-praier appointing it to be said, as the Apostles' Creed is said, not sung? Why compell they the people to stand up all the time it is song? that ceremonie of standing being forbidden by law, by which they that stand are to be punished, for obeying such unlawfull commandments? Is not this true?" Looke on the Booke of Common-prayer, the Act of Uniformitie, and the 12th Canon, there you shall find whosoever useth, or causeth to be used, any new rite or ceremonie in the church, shall be indicted, and that such schismaticks as you, Cosin, Linsell, and Burgoine, which in your conventicles make rules and orders for the people to observe without the King's authoritie, both you, the schismaticall commanders, and your seduced obeyers, are all excommunicated *ipso facto*. And for this new ceremonie of compelling violently the people to stand, when the Niceen Creed is song, you, John Cosin, were indicted before the Judges the last Assizes at Durham: the penaltie of which falt, is no lesse then the forfeiture of all your livings for a twelve month, and half a yere's imprisonment. Again, you maliciously, and sottishly accuse the said Peter Smart for asking these questions: "Why forbid they the singing of

psalms, in such a tune as all the people may sing with them, and praise God together, before and after sermons, as by authoritie is allowed, and here before hath been practised, both here and in all reformed churches? How dare they, in stead of psalms, appoint Anthems, little better then profane ballads some of them?" I say so many Anthems to be song, which none of the people understand, not all the singers them selves, which the Preface to the Communion-booke, and the Injunctions will have cutt of, because the people is not ædified by them. Is it for spight they beare to Geneva, which all papists hate? (and our popish Arminians as much as they) or for the love of Rome, which because they can not imitate in having Latin service, yet they will come as near it as they can, in having service in English so said and song, that few or none can understand the same? Is not all this true? Read the Preface, and the 49 Injunction, how answeare you them? This is your answeare: "The service of our church in Durham, and of all other Collegiate and Cathedrall churches, are scornfully taxed and vilified, with the prebendaries of the same, by Peter Smart." As yf all the deans and prebendaries in the whole realme of England, were as superstitious ideots as our Durhamers; and as yf their church were as much polluted with idolls and superstitious ceremonies, as that church in the north, where renouned John Cosin, and his phantasticall abetters, Linsell, Burgoin, Morecroft, and Blakston, Duncan, and James, domineer and rule the rost.

17. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Linsell, Francis Burgoin, Marmaduke Blakston, that you being seditious and schismaticall Arminian sectaries, and consequently blinde guides and rotten members of our Church, using personall invectives in your sermons, and at other times allso, most uncharitably and offensively taxing divers conformable preachers and others, both great and smalle, both men and women, which observe the Communion-booke and Canons, and amongst the rest your brother, Peter Smart, a man conformable to all lawful ceremonies, (to the most of which your selves refuse to conforme) you tax them, I say, for Puritans, schismaticks, yea puritanicall, Calvinisticall and unlearned Bishops, blasphemers of God and the King, Caines, Chams, Judasses, seditious and disobedient persons, yf they will not be, like your selves, stout ceremoniemongers, and notorious non-residents, very *tot-quots*, not content with 2 or 3 little ones, but such as will accept and keep 4 or 5 great preferments and dignities, still aspiring and climing higher, and never thinking your selves sufficiently rewarded for your great learning and diligence in serving God, sitting at church 3 times a day to heare men pipe and chaunt, and chaunt your selves when you list:

which chaunting Pope Gregorie counteth a base imploiment. For thus he saith, *Prohibitum est, ne quis in ecclesiâ cantet, nisi inferiores ordines, vtpote subdiaconi; diaconi verò lectioni et predicationi incumbant :* It is forbidden, saith the Pope, that any chaunt in churches, but men of mean degree, none above subdeacons: but Ministers and deacons must apply themselves to reading and preaching, for that makes most for the people's edification, to which all must be done. And is it not a base imploiment for you, John Cosin, having 2 fatt benefices, an Archdeaconrie, and a prebend*, being Bachelaur of Divinitie, and more then a subdeacon, even a full priest, to leave all your charges of soules at 6 and 7, and sitt all day long, eyther at home with a tobacco pipe in your mouth, or in the quire chaunting among singers. And as yf you could never have chaunting ynough, you and your fellows have taken away the plain Morning-prayer at 6 of the clocke, ordained by the Statutes for scholars and artificers, and have turned it all in a maner into chaunting and piping. The like may be said of you, Francis Burgoin, next to John Cosin, a principall patron of superstitious ceremonies. Have you not 2 great benefices, 2 prebends, an Archdeaconrie, and a vicarage, on some of which you are never resident? As for you, Marmaduke Blackston, you have had 6 goodly preferments and dignities, and though you have resigned and bargained away 4 of them, yet you keep 2 in your own hands, worth 600li. a yere, at neyther of which you have preached, or said service, so much as once in 7 years, being a non-resident from both. You thinke you doe service ynough to God and the Church, yf you sit now and then in your stall, like an idle drone (as allwaies you have ben), to heare piping and chaunting, and observe devoutly your son Cosin his new ceremonies.

18. Item: we article and object unto you, Francis Burgoin, Richard Hunt, Augustine Linsell, etc., that continuing in your malicious detracting from the Reformers of our Church, and the reverend Bishops, Deans, and præbendaries our predecessors, as

* Smart, some years after the date of these Articles, reckons up Cosin's preferments in his Common-place book in his usual splenetic manner: —"Notwithstanding that Dr. Cosins and one Mr. Fr. Burgoin were indyted in Aug. 1629, at Durham Assizes upon several bills, and found guiltie thereof, which remains likewise untraversed. This legall conviction notwithstanding, the said Doctor Cosines since, (1.) is made one of his Majestie's chapleins in ordinarie. (2.) Admitted to his degree of doctor. (3.) Made Mr. of Peterhouse in Cambridge. (4.) And Dean of Peterborow. (5.) And now Vice-chauncellor of the Universitie, besides 4 great livings he had before. (6.) And all proceedings upon the former inditements against him stopped. (i.) A benefice of Branspeth, about 300li. per annum. (ii.) A benefice of Elwicke, about 200li. per annum. (iii.) A præbend of Durham, worth to him about 300li. per annum. (iv.) An Archdeaconrie of Yorke, very commodious, without doubt."—Rawl. MSS. Miscell.

yf they had not left, and provided for the church, sufficient ornaments and ceremonies ynow, you not only have exceedingly multiplied the number of rites and ceremonies, very ridiculous and superstitious, but you have brought into the Cathedrall church of Durham straing Babylonish robes, called copes, taken from masse-priests, imbroidered with images, and having the picture of the Trinitie, upon the cape of some of them *; and one old rotten cope, taken from the bois and wenches of Durham, which they had used at ther sports and May-games above 50 yeares, a very foole's coate, of 3*s.* 4*d.* price: whereas the Canons allow decent copes to be worn in Cathedrall churches only at the Holy Communion, when it is administered, not pibald Romish robes, nor sumptious or idolatrous copes, forbidden by the Injunctions, and Homilies against the perill of Idolatrie, and superfluous ornaments of churches. As for the pall, or pretious altar-cloth, having upon it the storie of the Assumption of our Lady, how she was carried up to heaven by 7 angells, one at her head, 2 at her shoulders, 2 at her wast, 2 [at] her feet, it being a lying legend, and so many idols concurring in one picture, all Poperie can not shew a more abominable idol then it. And yf *Idolum nihil est in mundo*, 1 Cor. viii. 4, an idol is nothing in the world, then is that pall, layed upon Durham Altar, *Omnium nihilorum nihilissimum*, of all nothings the most noble nothing; because it is a *multiplex nihil*, covering the Altar, which also is *nullum reale, nihil habens Altaris*, but an imaginarie or figurative thing, not a true Altar, eyther *re* or *nomine*, properly to be called so, by your own confession.

19. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Richard Hunt, and your fellowes, that to the greate scandall of the church-service, and laudable ceremonyes heeretofore used in the Cathedrall church of Durham; you have not only changed the forme of the Lyturgie within 3 yeares, in tyme, place, and order, altering many substantiall parts thereof, contrary to the Booke of Common-prayer, Injunctions, and Canons, but you have erected a most sumpteous Altar, and being informed by your elder brother, Peter Smart, of the unlawfulnes of your doings, and that the Lord's Table is not an Altar, you obstinatly persist in your errour, styll calling it an Altar, and never using the word Table. Yea, one of you was so bold as to preach sundry tymes, and teach the people, that it is a true Altar, and ought to be called an Altar; and bid them not to be afrayd to call it an Altar. Another of you, more impudent then the former, useth

* *In margine:* Durham Ornaments: [they] are called *Ornaments;* they rather should be tearmed stincking excrements of the whore of Babylon, such ridiculous and histrionicall attire of the Church of Rome.

in his talke and sermons to commend, and defend the Mass, blaming the Reformers of our Church for taking it away; as if the mass being taken away, religion and God's service weere deformed and marred. Whereupon you all 3, to shew your selves resolute and couragious officers, being Deane, Subdeane, and Treasurer, have taken boldnes to your selves to make way for reducing of the mass, for you have procured much Altar-furniture, and many massing implements, crosses and crucifixes, and copes covered with images, candlesticks, and tapers, and basonns, besyds your ridiculous gestures, turning to the east, making many legges, sodden standing up, and prostrating your selves before the Altar, whether the Sacrament be administered or not. Surely if religion consist in these, and such lyke superstitious vanityes, ceremoniall fooleryes, apish toyes, and popish trynketts, we had never in Durham more religion then now. And although these be monstrous innovations, yett you call them laudable ceremonyes, slandrously saying, that other Cathedrall churches of England, use the same abominations and fooleryes.

20. Item: we object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Augustine Lindsell, etc., that you, persisting in your malicious pourpose in depraving the booke of Common-prayer, and traducing the reverend Reformers of our Church, which composed the same, in justifying your vaine, superstitious, and beggarly rudiments, which you call laudable ceremonyes, therby condemning our predecessors, which knew them not; in slandring all other Cathedrall churches, as if they had such lyke popish toyes and trinketts, about 60 glyttering ymages, sett up aloft, and worne in copes, about 300 wax candles, tapers, and torches, burning on Candlemas day at night, most of them up on heigh, and att the Altar, where nobody came, upon which Altar yee sett 2 silver candlesticks, and upon eche candlestick 5 wax candles, burning some time all at once. Besides all this, you are not ashamed in your calumniating Yorke Articles, falsly to chardge your brother, Peter Smart, an ancient præbendary who alwayes opposed himselfe against your ridiculous and idolatrous innovations, especially against the taking away of the Lord's Holy Table, and in steed therof, setting up of a brave Altar, which you dayly worshipp with bowing your bodyes before it downe to the ground, and that not once, but many times at one service, and teach others so to doe; yet you feared not maliciously, and contrary to your owne knowledg, and conscience, to accuse your sayd brother Smart, that he will needs stile the Communion-table, sett att the upper end of the quire, and call it an Altar; because some prebendaryes and others, coming through, and into the quire, at

theire fyrst entrance, and departings thence, use to make some reverence to God against that place, where the Communion-table standeth. O what cunning is heere in your dawbing! as if you made some little reverence, as yf you did it to God, as if you did it toward the place where the Communion-table standeth, as if you did it but once or twice, at your fyrst comming in and going out; whereas you doe it not to God, nor to the place where the Table standeth, neyther make you some little reverence once or twice; but you bow your bodyes so low to the ground, that you touch it with your noses som tymes, and that you doe in the very place where the Altar is, standing close by it, ten or twelve tymes before your departure from it, every tyme that you turne, or goe from one syde to the other, and when you take up or sett any thing upon the Table. By which your idolatrous gestures, contrary to the 2 Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe the lykenes of any thinge in heaven above or in earth beneath; thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor worshipp them:* you have changed the Lord's Table into an idole, a damnable idole, you have taught the people to adore the same Altar; so that, lyke Balaams, you have layd stumbling-blocks before them, to make them fall into spirituall fornication, and lyke Jannes and Jambres, Ægiptian sorcerers, you have so bewiched them with your cunning inveglings, and allurements, that they may welbe called foolish and sottish Galathians, running headlong to hell, if they amend not.

21. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Augustine Lindsell, etc., that you, having disgorged your venemous spleene against your elder brother, Peter Smart, and covertly against the Booke of Common-prayer, Injunctions, and Homilyes, which defend him, as he defends them; as also against the godly Princes, and learned Bishopps, which first reformed the Church of England and purged it from those antichristian and Arminian dreggs, which you labour to bring in againe; and moreover against all the Collegiate, and Cathedrall churches of this realme, with theire deans and prebendaryes, which abhorr and detest your horrible impyeties, superstitions and idolatryes, for some of which you stand indicted before the Judges of Assise, as transgressing against the Act of Uniformity, and the Booke of Common-prayer. After all this, you make bold with the King's chappell, saying, the King's chappell hath an Altar, and all furniture belonging therunto, thinking therby to cloke your faults, and defend your præsumptions, in casting out Communion-tables, and erecting Altars, and using copes imbroidered with images, and setting crucifixes, candlesticks, tapers, and basons, (all which are forbidden by the Booke of Common-prayer, Injunctions, and Homylies) upon your Altar:

and though you know that such things have bene by law ejected out of all Cathedrall and parish-churches in the whole realme of England, yett lyke lawless men, you have latly taken courage to your selves, to restore them againe without law. Thus have you undutifully and disobediently neglected the observation of the King's lawes, and the sacred ordinances of your Mother the Church of England (hoping as it seimes for a toleration of religion, or a change therof to popery). And you prætend for your noveltyes the imytation of the Court, as if every preist or prelate may be so sawcy as to imitate the King, even in those thinges that are contrary to his laws, not suffering his Majesty to have something extraordinary, above the vulgare sort, in magnificence and state, according to his owne pleasure, in his owne howse and chappell. Nay, there is one good fellow, among our braine-sick Arminians of Durham, (come out, John Cosin, it is your owne sweet self) which trayterusly, scismatically, rebelliously, seditiously, wil deprive his Soveraine Lord the King of his supremacy over the Church in ecclesiasticall causes, and openly, in an alehouse, wil maintayne it stoutly, and dispute it with arguments, in the audience of a multitude, and pronounce it gloriusly, standing upon his feete, that all round about might heere him, and see him, "that the King is no more heade of the Church, then the fellow that rubs his horses heeles, because he cannot excommunicate nor suspend." Heere is a jolly companion, that will not, I warrant you, imytate the King, but with Luciferian audaciousnes and pryde will exalt himselfe above the King. For John Cosin, being assisted by his father Blaxton, and Burgoine, hath power to excomunicate and suspend; and did suspend, *ipso facto*, his elder brother, Peter Smart, an ancient prebendary, (himselfe being a buck of the fyrst horne, scarce warme in his præbend) and his collegue in the same Commission, without any examination, conviction, or tryall. Them 3, Burgoine, Blaxton, and Cosin, his profest enemyes, themselves being accusers, witnesses, and judges, which refused to give Articles, or render any reason of theire tyrannicall, barbarous, and divelish dealing. The King, sayth Mr. Cosin, cannot doe so much, because he is not head of the Church; no not as head is expounded, governour, or because he is no ecclesiasticall personn, he is no clergy-man, sayth he. Yet a Bishop's Chancelour, being a civilian, and any 3 lay men, Comissioners, one being of the *Quorum*, may exercise the censurs of the Church, by excomunicating and suspending, deriving their authority from the King, whose Commission, under the Greate Seale, warranteth us all that are Heigh Commissioners, lawfully so to doe, when trespassers are judicially convicted, or at leaste *lite pendente*, while the Court orderly pro-

ceeds against them. The blasphemous papists have a saying amongst them, that a masse-preist can doe more then God can doe, for God cannot make his maker, but the preist at Mass, can make his Maker, which is God, and that very easily, by pronouncing 5 words over the wafer cake, *Hoc est enim corpus meum;* which words being spoken, it is no more breade, but God Almighty, which he falles downe and worshipps. Even so you, John Cosin, no disobedient nor undutifull subject doubtles, being made Heigh Commissioner by your Soveraine Lord the King, though you neither will, nor can, make your maker, the King, an Heigh Commissioner, as good as your selfe, and of æquall authority in suspending and excommunicating: yett you are content to allow his Majesty as much dignity and power, in the jurisdiction of your Heigh Commission, as the fellow that rubbs your horses heels. A base comparison, and befytting the foule mouth of a scurrilous sowter. But because you stand indicted by the verdict of the Grand Jury at Durham Assises, 1629, for this heinous cryme, we will leave you to the law, with your abettors, and justifyers, Lindsell, Burgoine, and Blaxton, partakers of this and other your villanous, scurrilous, and sacrilegious impyeties.

22. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine, etc., that going on styll in your old spleen, and malignity against the governours of our Church, which reformed it from superstitious, popish ceremonyes; whose decrees and ordinances you wilfully cross and reject, to the intent you may make way for your unlawfull innovations, you have brought into the church of Durham, and teach the people, or rather compell them, to observe a new and strang fashion of turning theire faces to the east, when they pray; and you are not ashamed to tearme it an ancient and laudable custom: wheras you, John Cosin, within these 3 yeares, was the fyrst that used it in the Cathedrall-church of Durham. And the use of any thing of no more then 3 yeares standing can not make it either a custome or ancient. Againe, nothing can be lawdable, that is not lawfull, and that it is unlawfull, it appeareth manifestly, by the Rubrick of the Communion-booke, which straitly injoyneth the Minister, at the Administration of the Holy Communion, to stand at the north syde of the Table, that his face may be toward the south, and not, as mass-preists use to doe, to stand with theire backes to the people, and faces to the east, when they say Mass, whose example you, John Cosin, chusing to follow, when you administer the Communion, (it being directly contrary to the Act of Uniformity, and Booke of Common-prayer) you, I say, stand indicted by the Grand Jury

at the Assyses in Durham the last July, 1629. And yet you feare not to tearme it a laudable custome, which indeed is abominable, as being used by the Manichees and Paganns, both which worshipped the sunn-rysing, by the antichristian papists in theire idolatrous Mass, and by necromancers and sorcerers, when they act theire inchantments. For surely it little becomes Christians to follow witches and conjurers, in theire superstitius and divelish devotions, prefering east before west, it being a ceremony of all others most deserving to be rejected, as being hæreticall, papisticall, paganicall, and magicall. Moreover, you bow downe your bodyes very often in one service, and profoundly before the Altar, in the east, contrary to God's Commandment, *Thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor worship them;* and you teach the people that doing so, you bow to God, and worshipp God, not the Altar: because your hearts, and mynds, say you, are upon the invisible God, though you bow downe your bodyes before a visible creature; which your excuse, if it be good, there are no idolatours in the world, for all papists and paganns make the same answeare. By these and such lyke fruitles, superstitius, and idolatrus ceremonyes, you have brought, or rather wrought, a greate schisme, division, and distraction amongst the people, especially in the northerne parts of England, where papists abound, whose handes you strengthen, and arme with weapons against our Church, by symbolizing with them in theire antichristian rites and idolatryes, which being once banished, you have restored againe, and maintayne stoutly with all your might and power.

23. Item: we article and object unto you, the sayd Francis Burgoine and John Cosin, that it appeareth playnly by the whole scope and course of your violent and calumniating Articles, exhibited at Durham, at London, at Yorke, against your elder brother, Peter Smart, and by the violent prosecution of your slandrus accusations in the same, that you came to the pulpitt, one of you, at the Assises in August, 1628, before the Judges, in the face of the cuntry then assembled, the other a few weekes after, and both of you, at sundry other tymes, with hearts full fraught with malice and uncharitablenes, not only against your brother Smart, whome you tearmed a Caine, a Cham, a Judas, &c., but also against the reverend Bishops which reformed the Church of England, and against your predecessours the Deane and prebendaryes of Durham, which continued in the same reformation, till you, with your fellowes, Linsell and others, weare thrust into the sayd Cathedrall-church, being stout champions for Arminianisme and Popery; and against the church-service allsoe, and other laudable ceremonyes, used not only in

Durham, but also in all other cathedrall-churches, within this realme of England; against the Booke of Common-prayer, Canons, Injunctions, and Homilies, all which you contemne, preferring Mass-bookes, Ladye's Psalters, and popish Primers before them: against the maner of celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the baptising of children, with places of the Table, and Font, all which you have so removed, translated, and transformed, yea, so strangly and so soddaynly, that now scarce *vestigium* remaynes of thinges and fashions amongst us in Bishopp James his tyme, 10 yeare before this sermon agaynst superstitious vanityes was preached: as if you studied and labored nothing els, but presently to sett upp Popery and the Mass in our church. Nay, you are become so bold and brazen-faced, as to tax publiqly his Majestie's chappell, as if it might be a patterne and president for all your unlawfull doings, wheras the King's chappell contynues without alteration as it was in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth, and King [James], and none of our prædecessours would adventure to change the forme of our service and ceremonyes, pretending as you doe, the imytation of the Kinge's chappell, under colour of which you feare not to violate the lawes and rules of your Mother the Church of England, sett downe in the Rubricks, Injunctions, and Canons, by which you ought, and are bound to be governed, and not with capritious crochetts, and phantasticall conceits of any idle ceremony-monger, *malè feriati nebulonis.* Moreover, you so vent your invective raylings in your craftily-contryved Durham and London Articles against your brother Smart, that through his sydes you might wound all other Cathedrall-churches of this realme, yea the whole Church of England, whose discipline and forme of government established by law he defends to his power against your popish innovations, and ridiculus foolery, for you not only intimate, in your venemous Articles, that your foresayd brother Smart, is an enemy to the Cathedrall-church of Durham, of which he is the senior præbendary of all save one; but you proclame to the world, and by your outragious prosecuting of him in the Heigh-Commissions at Durham, at London, at Yorke, you cry, "O yes, O yes, be it knowne unto all men, women, and children, that Peter Smart is a puritane, and a profest enemy of all Cathedrall-churches and quires, nay of the whole lyturgy and service of the Church of England." And as a courtly divine, at the Heigh-Commission, in the beginning of Easter tearme 1629, before the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, made this protestation openly, saying, advisedly and deliberately, theese words: "If I have any witt, knowledg, judgment, understanding, learning or honesty, Mr. Smart's sermon hath overthrown al the

Lyturgie, with the forme and order of service in the Church of England, with the government of the same." A desperat speech, hazarding all at once even witt and honesty, which being lost, where is the man? As if that church were no church, no service of God, where there is no Altar, where preist and people worshipp not the Altar, where there are not crucifixes, candlesticks, tapers and basons, sett upon the Altar, where there are not massing-copes used at the Altar, imbrodered with images, where the preist goes not after sermon in a cope to the Altar, to say 3 or 4 praiers, where the same preist stands not, when he ministers the Communion, at the west side of the Altar, with his face toward the east, whom all the people must imytate in looking eastward upon the Altar when they pray; where 2 or 3 hundred wax candles are not lighted at one tyme, 60 of which must stand upon and about the Altar, neere which no man commeth, and 20 before the Image of Christ on the top of the Bishop's throne, forsooth, where many scores of images, bravely painted and gilded, are not sett up aloft round about the quire, and some crucyfixes in the windowes above the Altar, where every personn, man, woman, and child, are not compelled to stand up, on theire feete, till they be weary, styll looking upon the Altar, when long creedes are song, of which they understand not one word; where the Sacrament of the Altar is not ministred with an excessive noyse of musitians, with players upon organs, sackbutts and cornetts. If there be no church, nor service, without these comly gesturs and ceremonyes, as you tearme them, then there was no church in Bishopp James his tyme*: he lyved too long to hinder us from having God's service bravely performed, which never began tyll his successour's tyme (as you say). These, and such lyke fopperyes, superstitions, and idolatryes, you, John Cosin, your fellowes and abettors, have brought very latly into the Cathedrall-church of Durham, and you would make symple people beleeve that all other Cathedrall-churches, have received, and doe use the same abominations; and, consequently,

* "Sure I am King James, receiving the Communion in Durham on Easter-day, 1617, would have all things done in plaine manner, without either singing or organe playing. And 2 copes being worn at the same time, nether of them were party-coloured, nor had any image upon them. I myself being Treasurer of the Church of Durham at that time, was one of the 7 which received the Communion with his Majesty that day, and saw it so administred by the then Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Mountague. But that which pleased a Prince so learned and religious cannot content our carnall Canons, (as Cajetan calls such nulli-fidians) they must have it all in pompe and bravery, they must have all sumptuous golden copes, imbroydered with images of Christ and his Apostles, expressly forbidden by the Injunction, and Homilyes against the perill of Idolatry and superfluous Ornaments of churches. They must have singers chant, and organs play all the tyme that the Communion is administred."—Smart's Memoranda (Rawl. A. 441. p. 115).

that all Deans and præbendaries or canons, have busyed themselves, and prevailed as you have done, in advancing and extolling superstition and Popery in their severall churches, which you have wickedly depraved, with the whole state and frame of our church service and government, wherby you have raysed schisme, faction, and division, amongst both the layety and clergy: troubling the whole realme, and poysoning tender consciences with your seditious doctrine and doings, so that the gangreene therof hath spread it selfe so farr, that now it cannot, without much tyme and paynes, be suppressed.

24. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoin, and Marmaduke Blaxton, that you do know all personall invectives and taxations delivered and published in the pulpitt, ever have been and are, amongst all grave and moderate divines, held detestable, and odious, both to God and all good men, and what clergy-man soever shall take that liberty to himselfe, and presume out of heate and distemper, to make the pulpitt a place of revendg of his malice, ought to be seveerly punished, and censured for the same, which you, John Cosin, Burgoine, and Blaxton, have done sundry tymes, against your brother, Peter Smart, so notoriusly that all the towne and cuntry complayned of your impudency, and so much the more, in that you sayd nothing in defence of the truth, but to revile and rayle and slander him that had spoken the truth, that therby you might suppress and smother the truth.

25. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoin, etc., that you have brought into the church of Durham sundry superstitius, and offensive ceremonyes, tending to the depravation of Christian religiön, and the forme of government established by lawes and Canons; and this you have done scismatically, and scandalusly; without the approbation of your superiors or any lawfull authority fyrst obtayned therunto; to the infection of divers weake personns, and the greate danger of your owne soules: and whereas an ancient prebendary of your church preached a sermon the 27th of July, in the sayd Cathedrall-church, 1628, to the intent he might dehort the people seduced by your hypochryses and subtill inveighlings, from dauncing after your phantasticall pipe, in your idle, ridiculus, and idolatrus ceremonyes, and lykewise to reclame your selves from your idolls and idoll services: you, lyke dogges and hogges, byte and teare him that casts pearls before you, and maliciusly tearme his sermon scandalus and schismaticall, and the personns which approve the same sermon, which are the best and most learned divines in England, even all that are not taynted with Arminianisme, and papisme, you rashly and uncharitably

call them favorers of such offensive and phanaticall opinions as weare delivered in the sayd sermon, whereby you slandrously charge your Mother, the Church of England, with phanaticall opinions, because that sermon is not either phanaticall, schismaticall, or scandalous, nor maintaineth any opinion disagreable to the Church of England, being made of pourpose by the author, and published to the world by some godly printers, lovers of the truth, to remove schismes and scandalls latly springing up in the Church of Christ, by the doctryne and doings of phanaticall Arminians; none of which hæreticall sects could ever yett shew one phanaticall opinion or sentence, not agreeing either with the Holy Scripture, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: neither is the sermon offensive to any good Christian. A few mangy Arminian hellhounds have at it, and bite the author; and Epicurean non-residents, lyke scabed jades, kike and winche, being touch't to the quick and gawled.

26. Item: we article unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, etc., that you, not resting contented with the bringing into the church of Durham your schismaticall superstitions, and idolatrous ceremonyes, but to the intent you might poyson the whole Church of England with Arminianisme and Popery, you published in print, a paltry booke, collected out of Ladye's Psalters, and popish Prymers, called *Houres of Prayer and private devotions;* and fynding it well accepted of your favourites and abettours, personns schismatically and factiously affected lyke your selfes, you caused the same, your base begotten bratt, to be borne againe in the printer's press, and to be published the 3 tyme to the world, contayning in it much offensive and scurvy stuff, well beseemyng the father, or rather the fathers, therof: for John Cosin, *proprio Marte,* could never have compyled so worthy a worke without the helpe of his learned freinds, Lindsell, Burgoine, and Blaxton, etc. This pedler's pack, going under the name of John Cosin, hath been layd open to the vew of the world by many, but chiefly by 2 very excellent writers, Mr. Burton and Mr. Prinn, who have so wel discovered the hidden cosenage of the false wares, cunningly couched togeather in that painted fardle, that now theare is little danger that any but very ideotts should be deceived therwith: though you, John Cosin, and your fellow-Arminians, in your 26th Yorke Article against your brother Smart, call them falsely and maliciously the authors of 2 seditious bookes, which bookes weare never yett condemned, or forbidden, nor the authors, Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynn, weare ever yet questioned before the High Commission, for making them; as slandrously is suggested in the fore sayd 26th Article. Moreover, you, John Cosin, to the more dangerous divulging of your

offensive and schismaticall opinions, and the raysing of a greater faction amongst his Majestie's subjects within these his realmes of England and Scotland, in very scandalous and seditious manner, you have audaciously taken upon you to corrupt the Booke of Common-prayer itt self, and also to forge and falsify the testimony of Doctor Whyte, now Bishopp of Norwich, who, in his approbation of Mr. Montague's booke, where he proveth that the Greate Turke, or the Grand Signior of Constantinople, is an Antichrist, as well as the Pope; which opinion Doctor Whyte approved. But you, John Cosin, lyke a sawcy fellow, changed Dr. Whyte's words, or the words of Mr. Montague approved by him, from it, that "The Turke is Antichrist *aswell as* the Pope," to "The Turke is Antichrist *rather then* the Pope*." And this you did schismatically and seditiously, to shew your love to the Pope, and to vent your phanaticall opinion that the Pope is not the great Antichrist, of whom St. Paule speaketh, and St. John also in the Revelation. But the Turke, he is rather that great Antichrist and man of synn, the sonn of perdition, of which injury done to that learned, and reverend father, Doctor Whyte, he greviously complayned, and sayd playnly, in the hearing of a famous learned man, "the knave Cosin foisted in that word (*rather*) after I had delivered back Mr. Montague's booke."

27. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine, etc., that you, contrary to the tenour of the Church of England, and the learned and reverend divines therof, bewraying therby your affection to the Church of Roome, of which you Arminians are rotten members, doe teach and maintayne that the Bishopp of Roome is not *ille Antichristus*, that great Antichrist, which exalteth himselfe above all that is called God, that is, above all Kings and Princes, which the Scripture calleth godes; and you not only defend that erroneous dotage, but alsoe under prætense of defending the fathers and reverend antiquity, you feare not to contradict the Holy Scripture it selfe, unadvisedly and unlearnedly denying that the mystery of iniquity began betymes to worke, by small beginings: whereas St. Paule sayth 2 Thes: ii. chap. 7. v^rs. *The mistery of iniquity doth already worke to make way for the man of synn; the sonn of perdition:* and who is that man of synn but Anti-

* The following appears to be the passage which Smart refers to:—"The signes, and tokens, and marks, and cognisances of that eminent and great Antichrist, foretold, extant, and designed in Scripture, do all as much accrue unto, and fit the Turk, or *rather* and indeed more, him and them, than they doe the Popes, in their state and government *ad oppositum*."—*Appello Cæsarem*, Part ii. c. 5. p. 149. Cf. also p. 150.

christ? what fathers of the church are more ancient then the Apostles? what antiquity more reverend then the Primitive Church, immediatly after the death of Christ? And if the disciples of Christ weare not wrongfully slandred by St. Paule, when he say'd, that in theire tyme the mystery of iniquity did worke to make way for Antichryst, much the less are the fathers wronged and slandred, when the lyke is sayd of them who lyved 2 or 300 yeares after, when Antichrist was growne to ryper age.

28. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Marmaduke Blaxton, William James, Richard Hunt, that you abusing the authority of the Heigh Commission, to revenge your owne quarrells and vent your spleen to the statutes of your church, and to your oath, which you tooke to maintaine the libertyes and priviledges of the church; would needs convent your brother, Peter Smart, Prebendary, before your selves, unlawfully meeting togeather in the Deane's house; and that upon the Lord's day, which is no Court-day, imediatly after he had preached his sermon, and that by a warrant contayning manyfest untruths and slanders, viz. that he had preached a seditious and scandalous sermon, against the ceremonyes of the Church, whereas he sayd nothing against allowed ceremonyes, but against your superstitious and scandalous trinketts and trumperyes, with which you polluted and defyled the church. That warrant you sent to attatch him by a pursevant, he dwelling in the next house, and being before you, you compelled him, though your collegue in the same Commission, to enter bond of an 100*l.* to appeare before you upon a daye's warning, all which was done very rigorously and unjustly, to molest and vex him, there being no just cause of convention, nor articles ready till many moneths after to be exhibited against him.

29. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Mr. Blaxton, that you having unlawfully convented your fore sayd brother and collegue, Peter Smart, and he appearing before you in the Consistory, according to his bond, you demeaned and caried your selves towards him, being your elder brother, and his Majesty's Commissioner as well as your selves, so insolently and unmannerly, as all the beholders cryed shame upon you, especially John Cosin, a proud and bold fellow, for using an ancient præbendary and an old man, twice his age, so basely, and unreverently. For, fyrst, he and his fellowes tooke him up roughly for taking his place as a Commissioner, and sitting with his hatt on, before his owne cause was heard; which is the manner of all Commissioners: and Burgoine told him that he was *reus*, a guilty man, he must stand among delinquents, which he, putting off his hatt, and offring to goe downe where

the booke lay to take his oath to answer articles: "No," sayd Blaxton, "we will give you no Articles, we will proceed against you without Articles:" "But" sayd you all 3, "you shal enter bond of 200*l.* and fynd 2 suretyes of 200*l.* more, to appeare before us upon 4 dayes warning, or els you must to prison." And they all 3 at every word that he could speak, though never so modestly, and reverendly, especially Cosin, "To jaile with him, to jaile with him:" most arrogantly insulting over a man, who had been publique reader in the University of Oxford, many yeares before John Cosin could tell how to prick a lowse in his fathers shopp at Norwich.

30. Item: we article and object unto you, John Cosin, Francis Burgoine, Marmaduke Blaxton, that you, when the afore sayd Peter Smart, according to the tenour of his bond, appeared before you, not only vilifyed and disgraced him, using many bitter taunts and reviling tearmes, scornfully and maliciously, to derogate from the worth of Mr. Smart, but also proceeded most unjustly to censure him, unexamined, unaccused, unconvicted, to inflict, I say, the censure of suspension upon him, in so foolish, and unlearned a manner, that all men skillfull in the lawes laughed at the same; for you suspended him from entring into the Cathedrall-church of Durham only, for the space of 6 moneths, and that was done in the middest of his residence, of purpose most spightfully to make him loose the charges of his residence; all which your doings weare contrary to your oath, which you tooke to observe the statutes of the church, and not agreable to the tenor of the Heigh Comission, your selves being judges, accusers, and witnesses, giving no Articles. All which many of the Commissioners utterly mislyked, and, namly Mr. Robson, openly protested in the Court against you, comanding the Registrer to recorde his protestation, in these words, *Protestante me Johanne Robson.* Againe, at the next Court-day, appearing againe before you, demanding Articles, or els desyring to be dismissed, you, Francis Burgoine, with your fellowes, obstinatly refused to exhibite Articles, or dismiss the sayd Peter Smart, saying openly upon the bench, when some Comissioners urged you, and told you you must doe the one, either lay some thing to his chardg, or els lett him goe: "No," sayd you Francis Burgoine, and you iterated the same words, "we must not dismiss him, for then he wil goe to London to complayne of us:" and when the sayd Peter Smart told you, that it was manifest wrong to keipe a man in bonds to hinder him from complayning, you answered, "that you had directions from the Bishopps at London, to keipe him theare till they sent for him to London;" and those words you repeated 2 or 3 times in the audience of the

Court: whereupon you made the sayd Peter Smart, and his suretyes to enter into bond of 200*l.* to appeare before you at all tymes, from court to court, in person, obstinately refusing to allow him a proctor. These abuses and wrongs both of you in Durham, and the Bishopps in London, your abettors and favourers, which, as Commissioners of the Province of Canterbury, have nothing to doe with them that live in the Province of Yorke, to fetch them from the Commission there, is very unsufferable. Moreover, to these your tyrannicall doings, you added the most reprochfull speeches that you could devise, calling him Puritane, schismatick, Martin-Marprelate, and his sermon phanaticall, schismaticall, scandalous, erroneous, seditious, though you cannot prove that the sayd Peter Smart refuseth to observe the order and ceremonyes of the Communion-booke, and Canons of the Church, or can you disprove any one sentence in the whole sermon, or show that it is disagreable to the Scripture, and doctrine of the Church of England: yet, lyke snarling dogges, you are always barking at him, because he will not leape into the pulpitt and preach in a cope, as you Francis Burgoine did 2^ce^, exposing your selfe to the derision of all the congregation then assembled; nor put on a cope to say 3 or 4 prayers at the Altar after sermon. These, and such lyke abominations, and your superstitious vanityes and new fangled fooleries, because he reformed, you, Burgoine, in opprobrious manner upbrayded unto him a most commendable calling, saying, "Wil you teach us what we have to doe, having been latly a scoolmaster?" As though it weare a disgrace for a yong man to have been once the Moderator of a great and free grammer-scoole, with 2 ushers under him; your self, and some of your fellowes, being never able to teach petty schollers, but fytt inough to weare the habitt of a ffryer, or a servingman's blew or tawney coate. And how latly, I pray you, was your brother Smart a scoolemaster? even 20 yeares before you weare præbendary of Durham; you and your ceremonious companion Cosin being *novitij*, novices, in comparison of him who is senior of all the Society, save one: and, consequently, by the Injunctions hath authority to see that you, that are fresh-men and juniors, doe observe the customes and approved ceremonyes of the Church, and to hinder your superstitious and popish innovations, irregularityes, and follyes.

XCI.—Letter from Dr. Lindsell and Dr. Cosin to Mr. Eleazar Dunkon *. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. clxxxii. 61.]

Sir,

That which wee related at Farnham concerning the reading of the Nicen Creed, and the common singing of psalmes by all the people together in stead of the Quire Anthems, was no more then wee heard with our eares and saw with our eyes. That my Lord shold be assured to the contrary, is no little mervaile to us; and we understand well what the difference is betwixt an Anthem sung by the Quire (when it is part of a singing psalme) and the singing psalmes themselves, as they be sung by the whole multitude of people in the common tunes of parish churches. After this manner is our practice now, and not after that other. For better satisfaction wherin, you shall assure my Lord (with humble remembrance of our dutie) that this both was and is still the truth. You shall have all.

1. The Bishop was here 3 Sundayes before any thing was altered, more then that both the Services were put together, which were before divided.

2. Upon the fourth Sunday he sent a messenger to the Chantor, [*In margine*, Mr. Todd, who told us asmuch. He is now dead.] commanding him so to order the service that the Nicen Creed after the Gospell, and the *Lord have mercy upon us* after each Commandment, might be read and not sung, aswell for the shortning of the Service as for the better understanding of the people. And further, that after the Creed so read, he should begin a psalme for all the people to sing before the Sermon, and after Sermon sing another, as they use to do in parish churches. This was all done accordingly, (the same day) saving only the *Lord ha' mercy upon us* (notwithstanding the command) was adventur'd on to be sung by the Quire. [*In margine*, Dr. Lindsell and I were this day at our owne cures †: but the thing was notorious, told and told agen alike by every one wee met.]

3. Two Sundayes after was the Creed read, and neither psalme nor anthem nor any thing els sung before the Sermon (the

* Prebendary of the fifth stall in Durham Cathedral, to which he was collated in 1627. From an entry in Laud's Diary it appears that he received deacon's orders from that prelate. He became chaplain to Bishop Neile, by whose patronage he became a Prebendary of Winchester and York. He also held the living of Haughton-le-Skerne, in co. Durham. He was one of Charles I.'s chaplains, and died in exile about 1650.—See Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 188.

† Dr. Lindsell was at that time Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, and no doubt had been officiating there. Cosin was, of course, at Brancepeth.

preachers [*In margine:* Mr. Morecroft, Mr. Triplet] of their owne accord making hast into the pulpit, to prevent the peoples singing, that sounded somewhat harshly in their eares). But after both those sermons, instead of the wonted Anthem, was a common psalme sung by the whole multitude, according to the former commandment.

4. In the meane while was the Creed read all the week long in the daily service after the Gospell, and because Mr. James gave order to have it sung but one day, (in Mr. Deane's absence at Newcastle) [*In margine:* Mr. Deane was 3 dayes absent, and had commanded the Quire, at his going out of towne, that they should be sure to read the Creed only, and not to sing it by any meanes, not for any man's pleasure but my Lord's and his whatsoever.] he was for that very cause by him convented and accused before my Lord in our Chapter house, there sitting *pro tribunali* in his 2^{d} day of visitation, so haynous a matter was it then thought to sing this Nicen Creed.

5. Afterwards, with much adoe, it was condescended unto that the Creed should be sung upon Sundayes and Holy daies; but a charge was given withall that all the week long besides it shold be read only by him that executed alone at the Altar. And so it was, and so it continued ever since, and so it is at this day.

6. Because 2 psalmes, one before and another after Sermon, seemed to take up too much time, it was then also ordered, that the common psalme shold be only sung after the Sermon, (in stead of the Anthem before in use) a psalme sung by all the people (most of them out of tune) for their better edification and delight, *as my Lord himselfe told me at Oxford*, where I desired the restitution of the Antheme, &c., and used many reasons for it, but cold not be heard; his Lordship averring that as long as he was Bishop of Durham these psalmes shold be alwaies sung for edification of the people, and the Creed shold not alwaies be sung, for the avoyding of superstition.

7. So we found it at our coming home, and so hath it hitherto continued; saving that upon the last Communion day, (the first Sunday in January) according to the usuall custome, they sung, after the Sermon was done, an anthem proper for the sacred action: but wherat Mr. Deane was so highly offended, that sitting in his Quire stall, and preparing to goe up towards the Altar, he cal'd him a saucie, proud, presumptuous, daring fellow [*In margine:* Mr. Wanles.] that began it; and afterwards rated William Smith, the Sacrist, all to nought for it, nor wold he be pacified til he had proved it to be his worship's owne direction. Upon other dayes (Sundaies and Holy daies) when there is a Sermon, and the people be there, we have no Anthem at all.

8. Upon Twelv'th day after sermon the 72 psalme was sung, the last Sunday they sung the 13th psalme, and this very day (being Sunday) they sung the 101 psalme, all by virtue of the first command. We cannot be mistaken. We heare them every day our selves, since our Residences began. So have you wherewith to satisfie my Lord's doubt, and for that purpose you may shew him this letter. *Vale.* Yours,

AUGUSTINE LINDSELL.
JO. COSIN.

And if our testimonie be not enough, forasmuch as concernes the reading of the Creed, and the people singing of the psalmes, as before, you shall have the subscription of,

WILL. JAMES.
WILL. SMITH, Sacrista.
RICHARD HUTCHESON, Organist.

And if these will not serve you may have 100 more.

Durham, Jan. 16. 1630.

"To the worll. or. very good friend, Mr. Eleazar Dunkon, Chaplaine in house to ye. Rt. Rd. ye. Ld. Bp. of Winchester, at Winton house in London."

XCII.—LETTER FROM JOHN HOWSON, BISHOP OF DURHAM *, RELATING TO THE DISPUTES RESPECTING THE SERVICES IN THE CATHEDRAL, &c. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. clxxxvi. 97.]

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE according to my promise given order for the singinge of the Nicene Crede, yf it have bene omitted, for I conceaved that I had sufficiently provided for it, among thos orders I left for that Church, before my return from thence: which I now send to your Lordship to peruse att your best leysure, and submitt what your Lordship mislikes to the black shete.

* This, and a subsequent letter from Bishop Howson, both addressed, as it may be presumed, to Bishop Laud, may fairly claim a place in this Correspondence, on account of the relation they bear to the differences which had arisen about the performance of Divine Service in the Cathedral. Bishop Howson was translated from Oxford to Durham in 1628. He had formerly been Student and Canon of Christ Church, and during his residence in the University was a zealous controversialist, both against the Calvinists and Romanists. His works were printed by order of James I. Bishop Howson died Feb. 6, 1631-2, having held the See of Durham little more than two years.

After I heard the differences betwene the Deane and some of the Prebendaries, as well by speeches interlocutorie, as by mutuall writings, ther were sent unto me, under Mr. Cosen's hand writing, certeyne Articles intituled *The conditions wherupon the Prebendaries offre agreement with Mr. Deane,* a copie wherof I send to your Lordship, together with such orders as I made for establisshing the same; with some other necessarie additions, which I thought usefull for that church.

The first five I settled, being guided by the statutes of that Church: the two last being not directly ordered by Statute, and so requiringe discourse, which might be various, I referred till our metinge together at a solemne day appointed to mete in the Chapter howse, when 3 only of the Prebendaries appearing, nothing was done in that businesse, nor in dede in any other. A contempt not usually borne with in such cases, but they were my old friends, and I chose rather to suffer then right my self; and to contemne the contempt, rather then take any publick notice of it.

When that meting was thus frustrated, I added a few more orders, which reached them all indifferently, and as I take yt, according to the statutes of that Church, or without crossing any of them. It may be some of thos were not pleasing: yf your Lordship find any cause, I will review them.

By the xth order your Lordship may understand that I have provided for an uniformitie in the Devine service, according to the auncient use of that Church, before the late alterations, which bred all thes quarrels, to the imitation of Sisennius (as I take yt) who in the differences betwene the Arrians and the Orthodox, advised the Emperor to demande of the Arrians if, in the interpretation of the controverted places of Scripture, they would stand to the judgment of thos fathers who lived before that controversie begon, and were no parties in yt, which when they refused he bannished them.

Thus farr I had written before your Lordship's lettres with the enclosed were delivered to me, wherof I have not yet read one line, but reserve my self for a further answer: thus much I feare being to tedious. Therfore my service remembred, I rest,

Your Lordship's true beadesman,

Jo: Duresme.

March 15, 1630-31.

[Probably addressed to Bishop Laud.]

XCIII.—From Dr. Cosin to the Bishop of London. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cc. 28.]

Right reverend and my very honorable good Lord,

I am sorry that these letters cannot speak that which I know your Lordship is desirous to heare, concerning our peace with my Lord of Durham; whose displeasure (when last I took leave of your Lordship at London) I thought had bin fully at an end; for so he assured me at my departure from him. But here I find it is otherwise, and am like to feele it too, unles the innocencie of my cause and the benefit of the law may help me, or otherwise it shall please your lordship of your goodnes to interpose.

I will crave but a little leave, and tell your lordship briefly how it hath fared with us since my Lord's last comming to Durham; who, within a few dayes after, was pleased to hold his Visitacion, (which he had begun the last yeere among us) and thereat, openly before us all, to declare his great displeasure conceyved against Dr. Lindsell and my selfe, for the speech which we had with your Lordship at Fulham, and which it liked his Lordship to call *accusations and articles preferred against him*. It further pleased him to tell in particular what they were, and to answer them, as I suppose he had done before to your Lordship, and afterwards caused the letter which your Lordship sent copied out unto him to be publikely read by the Registrar, calling it a libell, and a saucie letter, after much time had bin otherwise spent about the examination of it. This was done the first day.

But now more lately, after divers meetings, when I thought all anger had bin past, his Lordship was pleased to come and prosecute his Visitation in the Chapter house, and there presently to tell us that now he intended to proceed against them that had misbehaved themselves towards him, and first of all to begin with me, whom first he meant to be rid of, and to rid me out of the Church *. For which purpose he had drawne certeine articles of misdemeanour against me (of which I trow the pre-

* Bishop Howson seems to have taken Smart's part throughout. What Cosin tells Laud about the Bishop's desire to get rid of him is corroborated by Smart's own memoranda. "Our reverend Bishop, Dr. Howson, after he had examined all things, and heard my defence, was of my minde, he tooke my part, and justified all my doings and sayings to be agreable to the Church of England. And afterwards, both privately and publickly, in his Visitation, he censured mine adversaries for new-fangled innovators, seditious, factious, and turbulent fellows, threatning and protesting that he would not only restore mee again to my place in Durham church, but that he would expell their captain, and the ringleader of all disorder, Mr. John Cosin."—Smart's Papers: Rawl. MSS. Miscell.

tended articles exhibited against him to your Lordship and the letter are the greatest) which he willed his Registrar to enact and record, with an admonition to appeare 14 dayes after. Wherupon I perceive his Lordship's displeasure lyeth hard upon me, although I have laboured many waies to observe him, and no way to give him any just cause of offence, not knowing wherin it is I shold so displease him, unlesse it were in being with Dr. Lindsell at Fulham, when your Lordship was acquainted with the alteration of our Church service, and in deferring my voyce to the confirmation of Mr. Parsons' patent, which shold not have bin deferred neither longer then till his Lordship's comming hither into the country, for that some of us were desirous first to speak with his Lordship about it.

I dare trouble your Lordship's many occasions and patience no further, but humbly craving the continuance of your honorable favour and good opinion towards me, I submit all my actions to your Lordship's censure, which (without sute of law) I wish might put an end to these matters, that were at first so private. But if, in the mean while, it shall please my Lord of Durham still to proceed unto my danger and prejudice, I trust it shall not offend your Lordship if, by the advise of councell, I shall legally refuse and decline his Lordship's intended censure, having already so openly declared himself against me, and threatned to turne me out of the Church, wherin I desire to serve God with diligence, and daily to pray for your Lordship's health and honour long to continue. I rest ever at your Lordship's command and service,

Jo. Cosin.

Branspeth,
Sept. 24, 1631.

"To the Rt. Rd. Father in God, my very honble good Lord, the Ld. Bishop of London, one of ye Ld.'s of his Matie's. most Honble. Privy Councell, these."

XCIV.—From the Same to the Same. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. ccii. 15.]

Right Reverend and my verie Honorable good Lord,

Since the late letters wherby I was bold in my instant necessitie to implore your Lordship's favour, wee have made 3 dayes appearance before my Lord of Durham, and yesterday was the last: when without any such severe proceedings by Articles or otherwise, as his Lordship had before resolved, he was pleased to end this his Visitation; and, after some orders made for the

Church, and some proposed (though not yet enacted) to bring disgrace upon us, together with an open reproofe, and a large declaration of our supposed malice against Mr. Smart first, and then against Mr. Deane of Durham, and last of all against his Lordship, to dismiss us from further attendance. All which time wee have borne his Lordship's pleasure with silence and patience, more then was expected. And still Mr. Deane of Lichfeld * and my selfe are humble suitors to your Honour that you wold be pleased at his Lordship's comming to London to move him effectually (as wee have often done *frustrà*) for the laying downe of this his Lordship's great and undeserved displeasure conceyved against us for the discourse wee had with your Lordship concerning him, and for the letter: and that wee may have publick peace and common favour with him at least, if his more reserved affections be cast upon some others, that never honor'd him so truly as wee have done, and that upon speciall regard and reverence therein had to your Lordship's owne contentment. The world takes notice here of my Lord's high discontent against us, being so often and so publikely expressed, that advantage is most likely to be made of it, both by Mr. Smart and others, to no good ends. Wee wish it otherwise. In the meane while wee beseech your Lordship most humbly (both Dr. Lindsell and my selfe) to continue your wonted and honorable favour towards us, and giving credit to no objections till you have heard us speak, alwaies to number us among those of whom your Lordship may be right well assured they are ever observant of your commands, and most ready to be ordered and guided by your wisdome and fatherly directions. God encrease your dayes and honour.

Your Lordship's most truly and humbly addicted servant,

Jo. Cosin.

Durham, Octob. 22, 1631.

"To ye Rt. Rd. Father in God my very Honble good Lord, ye Lord Bishop of London & one of ye LL.s of his Matie's most honble privy Councell, these."

Indorsed:—"Oct. 22, 1631. Dr. Cousins about my Ld. of Durham, &c."

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* Dr. Augustine Lindsell.

XCV.—Letter from the Bishop of Durham, with reference to the matters in dispute respecting the Service in the Cathedral, &c. [State Papers: Domestic. Charles I. cciii. 90.]

My very good Lord,

I receaved at Darnton, in my way to London on Munday, the 14 of Nov., lettres from his Majestie, by a messenger of the chamber, requiring me with spede to give institution to Mr. Alvey into Dr. Jackson's Vicaridge at Newcastle; which was done before thos lettres came, as I informed your Lordship in my lettres by my Register: and being att Darnton I understode that one of my officers had bene entreated by Dr. Jackson's servant, who ordereth his estate, that I would deferre the acceptation of the resignation till after Easter.

His Majestie allso requires me to desist from my proceding against Dr. Linsel and Dr. Cosin* upon pretence of ordering the publick prayers; wherin his Majestie hath bene misinformed, for ther hath not passed a word amongst us since my last coming, nor indede before, but they stand punctually as I found them. I have made certeyne orders in my Visitation for the good of that Church and the members of yt, not by my absolute power, as I might have done by statute; but by assemblinge the Deane and a full Chapter, and upon discourse of every particular in conclusion we all agreed. Thes at my cominge I will acquaint your Lordship with, if your leysure serves to peruse them.

It is true, my good Lord, that I conceave that I have suffred more than ever was offred to any Bishop of Durham, and in the time of my Visitation, part wherof I have layde together to

* His Majesty's missive to the Bishop is as follows:—"Novemb. 3d, 1631. To the Bp. of Duresme. Concerning Augustine Lindsell et John Cosens.—Right Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty, etc.—The maintenance of true religion being the chiefe honour and safety of our Crowne, Wee have made it our greatest care to settle the Church in order and in peace, which wee will not have disturbed, and because wee are informed of some proceedings against Augustine Lindsell and John Cosens, Doctors in Divinity, and Prebends of our Cathedrall Church of Duresme, upon pretences about ordering the publike prayers in our said church, which may give further occasion of trouble and offence for prevention thereof, wee doe will and require you to desist from medling with the said Augustine Lindsell and John Cosens, or any other of the prebends of that church, till we shall appoint some other to bee joyned with you. And wheras [Yeldard] Alvy, a man (as wee heare) without exception, is presented by the Bishop of Carlisle, the undoubted Patron, to the Vicaridge of New Castle, Wee require you to give him the said Alvy institution without delay, that the Church may not suffer by the Ordinarie's default, who should rather be carefull for the speedy supply thereof, &c. At Westminster, 3 Nov. 1631."—Tanner MSS. lxxi. fol. 128.

The Vicarage of Newcastle had become vacant by Dr. Jackson's appointment as President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Several particulars respecting Alvey may be found in the Appendix to the Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes. (Pub. Surtees Soc.)

present to your view, if you please to se them; but all is shutt up, without any the least proceding against any man: but upon such reasons as I acquainted them with, and it is strange that I should suffer and they complaine.

I cannot conceave how thes erroneous informations should come to his Majestie's eares, but by my predecessor, whose 3 chapleynes they concerne, and it may be that scandalous letter was procured to that purpose, and 3 names subscribed who denie that they ever saw or subscribed the letter, but were abused by the postscript only: being informed that I denied to your Lordship the truth therof, which I can justifie by the Communion booke, and the practise of other Cathedrall churches, and yet they were done but once, and upon mature deliberation.

Let not these lines seme tedious unto your Lordship. I receaved a letter from the Lord President of the North, of 3 sides of paper, full of like misinformations. I hope your Lordship is acquainted with the businesse and my sodeyne breife answere to it.

But if your Lordship's hand be in that letter, I can make better construction of yt, viz. that my proceding should not give advantage to Mr. Smart in his businesse with them, which in the conclusion of my Visitation, together with respect to your Lordship's favor and ther dependency upon my predecessor, and my longe and familiar acquaintance with them, I made the cause of my so great patience, giving them to understand that I came thether with great hope of a quiet ende of a trobled life, ther being in that Chapter five of my ancient friends and acquaintances of Christ Church, 4 others my familiars att Duresme house, one a fellow chapleyne with me to Quene Elizabeth, and two other moderate men, when being desirous to be neutrall in a great faction, my ancient friends out of a jealousie sett them selves against me etc. When I rehearsed to them, first what they had done out of a factious humour, first against an ancient præbendary, for indiscretly reproving them in indiscret and unauthorised innovations: 2^{ly} against the Deane, (a man well respected there) espetially for obteyning, long before ther time, the Deanary by Simonie, as they pretended, from a lay man* when a continuall long succession was feared, who in many men's judgments was sayd to be *facto pius, et sceleratus eodem,* and thirdly, had articled rideculously, and dispersed libellous writings against ther Bishop, even in the time of his Visitation, while

* Dean Hunt's predecessor was Adam Newton, a Scotchman and a layman, who was tutor to Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I. Newton resigned the Deanery in 1620, in consideration of a large sum of money.—See Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 153.

the censure was in his owne hand, *qui cum omnia caruerat, per ornamenta feriebatur.* I added the manifold trobles they brought upon the church and themselves, and others only lookers on, as first, Articles in the Parliament. 2ly. many Indightments before the Judges of Assise, which were all found by the country: 3ly. twice Certioraries out of the Chancerie and King's Bench, both which I stayed, as prejudiciall to the Regalities of the County Palatine: 4ly. Articles in the High Commission: fiftly, Articles at the Visitation, and now sixtly, many . . . . . into the Starr Chamber. Thes ther doing and sufferings being without any former example in that church. And this, my good Lord, was the proceding I used against them, and I hope will suffice to effect a moderate reformation in them, together with your Lordship's proceding in Oxford, which att metinge was made knowen to them.

Thes lines were written about Lecester, wher I was water-bound 3 nights, and all my companie, and came from thence the 22 day of November, being Thursday, but met with no convenient messengers to present thes letters to your Lordshipp.

On Saturday the 26 of Nov. we came unto Oxford, after 13 dayes traveyle, wherof six were exceding fayre, the rest plentifull of stormes, snow, hayle, rayne, great winds and high waters: and we harbour here to refresh our selves and our horses, and to repayre the coach, which began to be att fault: besides, I have here some businesse of moment, and enjoy with great delight the new reformation of my mother this worthy Universitie, which no doubt will be longe the happier by your Lordship's good meanes. Here I am told that it was reported that Dr. Cosin stood suspended by me, and some other such stuff: which puts me in mind to desire your Lordship to informe his Majestie that things much mistaken had occasioned his gracious lettres; and sett me upright againe in his favour, att least in this misprision which occasioned that letter, which mett me by the way in my jorney; and to which I entended to give your Lordship a present answere, but that the messenger pretended that his horse was not good, and he not certeyne of the time of his returne: and I conceaved that he had some other businesse eyther to Durham or some other part of that country, and yt semeth he knew little of the contents of that letter, for he expected for his paynes a reward of five pounds, as he told my servants. As sone as we shalbe refreshed, and our coach and tackling repayred, I will sett forward to attend your Lordshipp. As yet, I have not bene out of my howse, but yet visible by many good friends, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, the Deane of Christ Church, etc. And so desiring your Lordship to pardon this volume, which might

have bene very much enlarged, I humbly take my leave, and rest,

Your Lordship's loving friend and true servant,
Jo: Duresme.

Oxford, 28 of Nov. 1631.

(No address.)

XCVI.—From Dr. Thomas Carre* to Dr. Cosin.
[Mickleton MSS. xlvi. 225.]

Good Sir,

I have received your letters, and withall Mr. Deane's, a copy whereof I here send you. What his meaneing is I cannot tell, but you see he names none save Dr. Clarke onely, at whom I cannot chuse but wonder. 'Tis *insolitum spectaculum* to see a full gorged eagle stoopeing at a flye.

For my selfe, albeit I could wish some better footeing in that country, yet I deeme it not safe to shoulder with my senior about yt, and to spend so great a friend as my Lord upon a businesse of noe great consequence, where the event may still be doubtfull, would perhaps seeme indiscretion, to use his hand to my Lord's Grace, to the Deane and Chapter, to the King, three wayes (for soe it must be, yet all be done) and all this for you know what, or would rayse a dust, and much lessen my Lord's esteeme of me, to say noe more, &c. Above all, theirs [*there is*] a cure of soules. I am sensible of that allreadie. These parcells being summ'd up together, the totall, I feare me, *vix erit tanti*, &c.

Might it be had on fair tearmes, without too much noyse, the Chapter comeing of freely, the world would thinke you countenanced the cause against Mr. Smart, and soe it would be worth acceptance; but to come of soe hardly, when the businesse may redound to the Churche's honour, and promote the publick good, I like it not soe well. Doe what you please in that, onely let's not soyle our fingers too much. The businesse is now sett on foote, it will not be amisse a litle to trye our owne forces without

* Thomas Carr, D.D., a native of Yorkshire, educated at Peterhouse and Jesus College, Cambridge. When Peter Smart was punished for his violent sermon of July 27th, 1628, by being dispossessed of all his ecclesiastical preferments, Dr. Carr succeeded to the stall which he held in Durham Cathedral. He was also rector of Huggate, in Yorkshire, through the interest of the Earl of Strafford, to whom he was chaplain, and whom he attended on the scaffold. He was instituted on the 7th April, 1632, to the vicarage of Aycliffe, a benefice in the patronage of the Chapter of Durham, which Dr. Clarke, it would seem from this Letter, had some idea of taking. The latter was Prebendary of the 1st stall. There are allusions in the letter to the proceedings against Smart. For a particular account of these see Acts of the High Commission, pp. 204—210. (Pub. Surtees Soc.) Dr. Carr died in 1641.

bringing in a forreine hand amongst us. I had rather make up those gaps then open them wider, unlesse it were for strengthening our Body. My cause, I make account, is the common cause, and pray you let it be soe pleaded in the Chapter. Would they be content to doe this for me, it would in a sort even parallele the Decree of Yorke, at least wise it would seeme to second yt. For my owne private, Aycliffe cannot be my ayme. I blesse God in that regard I want not better overtures elswhere. Mine eye is chiefly upon the controverted businesse, which I conceive may this way find some furtherance, tho' I seeke not my selfe onely in it (though 'tis true my share would be most), but in some sort I seeke *καρπὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν.* Phil. iv. 17.

In your brother Mr. Blackston I have noe interest but through your selfe. If he be not resolved which way to goe, he may please to looke on the cause it selfe, or on you, my good friend, and soe give his voyce accordingly, but for me I am a stranger to him save what my journey hath wrought in him, &c. I understand by your letters and also by my messenger theirs a prateing lawyer spoke freely concerning my other businesse, and bid your man tell me. 'Twas a good argument of his small discretion, but I confesse I am not easily provoked, yet let him take heed of medling with edge tooles. The Decrees of Yorke would not be sleighted. They'le take yt ill their that their Judgments should be judged over againe by Mr. Wright* at Durham. I'le acquaint my lord and your counsell what passed from him, may be he will have noe thanks for yt.

I shall write to good Mr. Deane to confirme him in that courtesy he seemes to offer me, viz., to make stay a while of yt. May be tyme may worke something for us. However this businesse falls out, with me or against me, I am deepely indepted unto you. Ever yours, and soe I pray account of me as one that will alwayes be ready to doe you service in requitall of this great kindnesse. The bell calls me away, and I am sure I have wearyed you. I betake you and yours to Allmighty God and rest ever,

Yours and theirs in all harty love and true affection,

THO. CARRE.

Huggett, March
ye. last. 1632.

"To ye right worll. my assured good friend Mr. Dr. Cosin,
Archdeacon of the Eastriding of Yorkshyre,
at his house in Durham these."

* Edward Wright, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-law, and of Lutterington, co. Durh. He appears to have been a pupil of Smart's, and was counsel for him in the action brought against him by Dr. Carr at the Assizes in 1632. See Appendix to Acts of the High Commission, pp. 206—210. (Pub. Surtees Soc.)

XCVII.—Account of the reception of King Charles I. by the Dean and Prebendaries of Durham Cathedral [Reg. Hunt. D. & C. Durham. Pars. ii. p. 223.]

De Adventu Regis Caroli ad Ecclesiam Dunelmensem: anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo tertio, anno Regis Caroli nono, primo Junii die Sabbati, post meridiem horâ quintâ.*

Illustrissimus, graciossimus, et omnibus eum intuentibus amabilis Rex noster Carolus, ad regnum suum et coronam Scotiæ honorificè progrediens, cum magno et gloriosissimo comitatu ad Dunelmum venit, et absque morâ ad Ecclesiam hanc Cathedralem rectà perrexit.

Ubi ante omnia ad ostium boreale (strato priùs super pavimentum tapete et faldestolio, cum velamine pretioso, et quissinis de purpureo velveto desuper præparato) humiliter genuflexit, et Orationem Dominicam submissâ voce recitavit.

Interim canopæum† de serico et auro intexto quadratum, et octo hastis deauratis sustentatum, supra caput Regis ibidem tenebant et gestabant totidem Ecclesiæ Præbendarii‡, superpelliciis induti, quatuor à dextris, et quatuor à sinistris, similiter genuflectentes.

Finitâ precatione, surgebant omnes cum Rege, et factâ veneratione, canopæum supra caput ejus elevabant, recto ordine pergentes ad cathedram ex adversâ parte mediæ insulæ præparatam, et ad occidentalem columnam Baptisterii super tapete prius ibidem decenter substrato collocatam.

Ubi coram Rege in eâdem cathedrâ residente Dominus Decanus [Dr. Hunt, *in margine, manu Cosini*] habitu chorali indutus reverenter genuflexit, et brevi oratione postquam sacratissimam Regis majestatem plurimum laudavit, fausta illi omnia et felicem progressum reditumque comprecatus est. Cum peroravit et manum Regis osculatus esset, procedebant omnes, canopæo (ut priùs) suprà caput Regis sustentato, et choro recto ordine præcedente, atque interim cum organis aliisque instrumentis musicis conci-

* *In margine, manu Cosini*:—"Descripta sunt hæc, prout sequuntur, à Johanne Cosin, S. Th. D. præbendario infradicto."

† *In marg: manu Cosini*:—"Prius per Decanum et Cap^{m}. præparatum."

‡ *In marg: manu Cosini*:—"Dr. Clark, Dr. Cosin, Dr. Carr, Dr. Duncan, Mr. Morecroft, Mr. Blakiston, Mr. Maxton." Anthony Maxton, M.A. was then a newly appointed Prebendary, having been collated to the 8th Stall on the 23rd May, 1633. He was a Scotchman by birth, and was recommended to Bishop Morton by Charles I. He was rector of Wolsingham, and also of Middleton in Teesdale, both in the county of Durham. He died about the year 1641, and was interred at Wolsingham.—Hutchinson's Hist. Durh. ii. p. 201.

nente *Te Deum laudamus;* et honorificè deducebant Regem ad solium suum priùs per ministros regios præparatum et ad columnam inter altare Dei et thronum Episcopi mediam magnificè collocatum; hymno autem ad finem perducto, totus chorus, minores canonici et clerici in stallis suis constituti, altâ voce incipiebant Orationem Dominicam, omnium interim genibus religiosè flexis: Decanus verò, et Præbendarii cum canopæo divertebant ad sinistrum latus regalis solii.

Deinde minister (qui fuit major Bassus Decani) erigens se, dicebat ex Anglicanâ Liturgiâ, *Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam Tuam;* chorus cum organis respondebat, *Et salutare tuum da nobis;* subjunxit minister, *Domine salvum fac Regem,* et reliqua quæ sequuntur, cum tribus Collectis, ad vesperas quotidiè dicendis. Quibus finitis decantabatur Antiphona, ex Psalmo tricesimo, *Exaltabo Te Domine, &c.*

Postea subjunxit minister et altâ voce dicebat *Domine salvum fac Regem,* cum responsione chori et duabus Collectis pro Rege et Reginâ, eorumque augustissimâ sobole, &c., addito in fine *Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c.*

Atque hic ordo precum, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, prescriptus est pro primâ Regis receptione à Reverendissimo in Christo patre Gulielmo Laud, Episcopo Londinensi, Regiæ capellæ Decano, qui tum presens fuit, et semper lateri Regis adherebat, atque humilitatem servitii nostri multùm promovebat. Finitis precibus Rex, cum proceribus et Episcopi, intravit sacrarium, perlustravit Altare, unà cum ornamentis desuper impositis, et locum visitavit ubi olim tumba Sancti Cuthberti constituta fuerit. Laudavit omnia, cumque ad sinistrum latus Altaris pervenerit Decanus et Prebendarii antedicti humiliter ibidem constituti, obtulerunt ei Vestimentum Sacrum, hoc est, capam de rubro velveto preciosissimè per totum brudatam*, auroque et serico acupictam, unà cum multis imaginibus historiarum et sanctorum utriusque Testamenti, in tabernaculis suis stantibus, auro item et serico nobiliter et magnificè brudatis. Quam cum Rex benignissimè acceptaverit, et inusitatâ laude extulisset, tradi eam jussit Reverendissimo Episcopo Londinensi, Decano capellæ Regiæ antedicto, ut sacris ejusdem Capellæ usibus in solemnioribus festis inserviret. Deinde elevato suprà Regem canopeo regressi sunt omnes per chorum et ecclesiam, eâdem quâ venerant

* This cope was one of those of which Smart complained, as "being exceeding sumptuous and gorgeous, being embroidered with silver, gold, and precious stones, one of 300li. one of them of more then 200li. prise, 212li., of which Mrs. Short, in whose house it was made, can testifie."—Smart's Papers, Rawl. MSS. Miscell. Cosin says, in his answers to the Articles preferred against him in 1640, that the cope which was said to have cost 200*l.* was never used in the Church, but was purposely made for presentation to the King on this occasion.

viâ, cum magnâ gloriâ procedentes, organis interea suaviter et submissè pulsantibus.

Cumque Rex ad occidentalem Ecclesiæ partem pervenerit, divertebat ad Galileam, et tumbam VENERABILIS BEDÆ Presbyteri visitavit, cum tabulâ inscriptionis* tunc primùm ibidem per Decanum et Capitulum collocatâ, Prebendariis interim antè ostium ejusdem Galileæ adventum reditumque Regis cum canopeo præstolantibus. Redeunti autem Regi omnes quantâ potuerunt submissione, et flexis genibus supplicem totius Ecclesiæ nomine libellum obtulerunt†, quo Regiam clementiam et autoritatem implorabant, ut per literas suas patentes, magno sigillo Angliæ muniendas, jura Cartæ, et antiquæ hujus Ecclesiæ possessiones, de novo confirmarentur, et majorem firmitatem adversus omnes omnium insultus acquirerent. Cui postea supplicationi Rex optimus et Deo devotus annuit, gratiam illius, et favorem nobis, conciliante Reverendissimo in Christo patre, Domino Episcopo Londinensi antedicto, cui viro multum est quod debemus, et non nos tantùm sed et universus Clerus Anglicanus.

Rex, accepto libello, ad ostium boreale Ecclesiæ processit, atque ibidem Decanum et Prebendarios, coram serenissimâ ejus majestate humiliter flectentes, benignissimè dimisit.

Pergebat dein cum proceribus suis ad Castellum et Palatium Domini Episcopi (ubi mansit ad diem lunæ sequentem) et absque morâ universas penè ejusdem Castelli cameras in propriâ personâ suâ perlustravit, et laudavit plurimùm sepius, benignissimis verbis efferens, Reverendissimum in Christo Præsulem Dominum Richardum, nunc Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, qui, dum non ita pridem sedi Dunelmensi prefuit, Episcopales ædes, tum hic Dunelmi, tum alibi, præsertim Aucklandiæ (ubi Rex nocte præcedente requievit), magnis suis sumtibus reparavit, et quas informes atque inexcultas invenit, speciosas et elegantes reliquit.

Proximo manè venit Rex iterum ad Ecclesiam, magno procerum comitatu stipatus, cum jam Preces et Laudes Matutinæ inceptæ fuerunt, Chorum interim moderante et regente dicto Reverendissimo Præsule, Domino Episcopo Londinensi, Capellæ Regiæ Decano, et officium Divinum ad assignationem dicti Præsulis pro eo die exequente J. C.‡ qui unus erat ex præbendariis. Finitis Precibus Matutinis, ad tertiam Collectam pro gratiâ, decantata est Antiphona per totùm Chorum simul concinentem *Canite tuba in Sion, &c.*

Subsecuta est concio, quam coram Regiâ majestate, in pulpito

* *In margine, manu Cosini:*—"à J. C. descripta." This inscription will be given in the Appendix.

† *In marg: manu Cosini:*—"Per J. C. prebendarium."

‡ *In marg: manu Cosini:*—"Idem Johannes Cosin."

ad columnam Regio solio oppositam collocato, magnâ cum laude suâ habuit Reverendissimus in Christo pater Dominus Thomas, nunc Episcopus Dunelmensis, super verbis Evangelii Marci xj. 13, *Cumque vidisset ficum habentem folia, &c.*

Post concionem decantata est alia Antiphona, quæ fuit Psalmus ultimus, *Laudate Deum in Sanctuario, &c.*

Quâ demum finitâ subjunxit officii executor, in stallo suo constitutus et erectus, *Domine salvum fac Regem, &c.*, cum Collectis pro Rege et Reginâ.

Post hæc sacra Deo præstita descendebat Rex per Chorum, et cum nobilibus ac officiariis suis divertebat per claustra ad Decani ædes (quæ pro eo tempore Domino Episcopo Dunelmensi sunt assignata), ubi idem Dominus Episcopus Regem, cum proceribus suis, et aulicis omnibus ministris, convivio quàm poterat magnificentissimo excepit, et Regios insuper ministros multis feodis et regardis muneravit.

Ad secundas Vesperas in Choro Ecclesiæ decantatas Rex non venit, sed mansit in castello Domini Episcopi, ibidemque sacris interfuit. Rexit tamen chorum nostrum Dominus Episcopus, Decanus capellæ Regiæ antedictus, et sedebat* in stallo Domini Episcopi Dunelmensis, qui primus est à dextris ad ingressum Chori. In his Vesperis decantabatur Antiphona *Deus deorum et Rex regum.*

Die subsequenti paulò antè discessum, (qui erat circâ x^{mam} antè meridiem,) misit Dominus Rex, per dictum Reverendissimum patrem Dominum Episcopum Londinensem, literas suas mandatoriales Decano et Capitulo Dunelmensi inscriptas (quas etiam in hoc libro registrari jussit) in hanc quæ subsequitur formam.

Charles R. Trustie and welbeloved wee greete you well, &c. When wee were lately in our Cathedrall Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin at Durham, there to give God thanks for our safety (thus farre onward of our journey towards Scotland) wee observed some things which wee cannot but thincke most unfittinge for that place, and altogether unbeseeminge the magnificence of soe goodly a fabricke. As namely at our entrance on the north side wee observed certaine meane tenements uppon the Church-yard, and some of them adjoyninge to the walls of the Church, which we conceave to be a greate annoyance unto that place: And we are since informed that one of the sayd tenements hath the Church yard annexed unto yt by lease, a thinge by noe meanes to be indured.

Wee likewise found, when wee came up into the quire, that there had binne a removinge of divers seates, which wee after

* *In margine, manu Cosini*:—"Et dn̄s Ep̄us Dunelm. in stallo Decani."

understood had binne placed there for the use of the Mayor and his bretheren, and for the wives of the Deane and Prebends, and other women of quality; all which cannot but be a trouble to the service in the Church, and a greate blemish to soe goodly a quire as wee found that to bee, and doe utterly dislike that such seates as they should any waye be continewed there.

Our expresse will and pleasure therefore is, and soe we will and command, that neither you, [nor] the Deane and Chapter that shall hereafter be, doe either cause or suffer any dwellinge house or other edifice to be built upon the Church yard, or against any part of that our Cathedrall Church aforesayd, or the quire of the same, uppon any pretence whatsoever; And further that neither you nor they renewe any lease or leases of any the houses or other edifices which are already built uppon the Churchyard, or against the walls of the said Church or Quire, for any yeare or tearme of yeares whatsoever, but that you suffer the leases now runninge to expire, and then pull downe the houses, or sooner, if the Deane and Chapter shall find any fayre meanes to accommodate the tennants, or any be soe well mynded to the Church as of themselves to relinquish their dwellinge.

And our further expresse will and commaund is, that all the seates which were now taken downe against our comminge be never set up againe, that soe the Quire may ever remaine in its auntient beawtie; And yet that the Mayor and his bretheren may be conveniently accommodated in this Church after the same sort that they are at Yorke, and in other Cathedralls, wee will that they have places on the East end of the Stalles, sixe on one side and sixe on the other: And further, that weomen of quality may have fayre and free accesse thither to performe their service to God, our expresse will and pleasure is that the fayre seate which stands betweene the pillars uppon the northside of the Quire bee left for the wives of the Lord Bishopp, the Deane, and Prebends (in case they be married), and none other, and likewise that there be moveable benches or chayers for other weomen of quallity when they come to church, which may be put into the vestrie, or some other convenient place at all such tymes as they are not used: Alwayes provided that noe weomen of what condicion soever be suffered to sit in any of the stalls of the Quire, or seates before them.

And, lastly, our expresse commaund is, that these our Letters be kept safe by you the Deane and Chapter, in the place where you keepe your evidences, And further that a coppie of them be transcribed into the Register booke, and there kept, and that a coppye be likewise transcribed by your officer, and delivered to the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas, now Lord Bishop

of Durham, and soe to every Bishop, from tyme to tyme, that hee and they successively may have care of the performance of this our will and commaund.

And this wee strictly injoyne you, the Deane and Chapter, carefully to obey and put in execution, in every part, accordinge to our royall intention before expressed; to the honor of God and his house, as you or any of you will answeare the neglect hereof in any particular at your uttmost perrell. Given at our Court in Durham, June 2d., and in the ninth yeare of our reigne, 1633.

"To our trusty and welbeloved the Deane and Chapter of our Cathedrall Church of Dunelm."

Tapete ad ostium boreale pro Rege stratum, unà cum quissinis et velamine faldistolii de antiquâ consuetudine cedebant Regio Magistro Equitum, pro feodis suis, et solvit Ecclesia pro redemptione eorundem, x^{lib}. Similiter canopæum supra caput Regis sustentatum cedebant iis qui à pedibus Regi inserviebant, et solvit Ecclesia pro redemptione ejusdem, x^{lib}.

Habuerunt etiam Regii Ministri in regardis per billam ab officiariis Curiæ allatam, xxxviij^{l}. iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Porro clamabant rhedarii et habuerunt in regardis xxij^{s}.

Janitores etiam Regii Palatii et habuerunt xx^{s}.

Custodes insuper Chori et habuerunt xx^{s}.

Et inferiores quidam officiarii et habuerunt xj^{s}.

Summa totalis lxj^{l}. xvj^{s}. iiij^{d}.

XCVIII.—Letter from Mr. John Hayward* to Dr. Cosin.

[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 82.]

Salutem in Jesu Christo.

Sir,

I perceive by your letter to Mr. Latham that I have trespass'd very farre against your patience, by my flight, in passing through Huntingtonshire. I assure you, as it was a great greife to mee to misse of you there at the place whither I entreated you, so it is now a greater, that you should apprehend I did fly you, whome of all men living I desired most, and doe still, to meete withall.

* Prebendary of Lichfield, and Rector of Coton. He was probably a son of John Hayward, who is said by Browne Willis (Survey of Cathedrals, p. 408) to have been Rector of Draycotts, co. Stafford, and Eyam, co. Derby, and to have held the Chancellorship of Lichfield Cathedral from 1614 to 1621.

For my mishap in missing you, or my crime if you will, I beseech you let my penitence make amends: yet I stay'd at Brington at least two houres; and was wet to the skinne before I gatt thither; and because I suppos'd the time farre spent, and sawe the weather very showrie, I conceiv'd you would not stirre so farre, and therefore I made the more hast that I might reach my brother Hills that night; which I did, though late, by reason of the leisurely speed I made in favour of my infirmitie. I pray accept of my just apologie, and returne to your wonted good nature towards mee.

I am here at Lichfeld, where I fynd honour enough, love enough, and imployment enough, but want meanes enough to maintaine either: I doe therefore purpose to fly to Coton the weeke after Michaelmas, to the place *ubi fui ab initio; nunquam huc rediturus:* but to spend the poore remainder of my dayes in that obscure village, with the comfort of my wife and familie about mee, which I cannot doe here, except I meet with some better fortunes then as yet I have encountred. This Church and Diocese is Augias' stable, which I knowe and see how it might be cleansed and purged, but wanting the countenance and assistance of those that have neerer relation to either then my selfe, I must be content (though to my great greife) to sit downe, and, like the principall governors thereof, live upon the dung of this stable. Were I with you I could tell you miraculous stories of the enormities of this cuntrie, and the despaire of any remedie: *sed hoc alterius temporis erit.*

Good Sir, be pleas'd to lett mee have your best counsell for Peter. He is now my cheifest care, partly out of thankfulness to ridd you of so great a trouble, to whome I have bene so infinitely beholding for his education these many yeares; partly in regard of his infirmitie in his arme, which will make him unfitt for any trade. I have not the felicitie to place him as a servant with any old freind, as you may see by that fragment of the Deane of Sarum's * letter which I sent you, and it is now my great greife that upon hope of placing him with the Chancellour of Durham, *gratis,* I neglected an oportunitie (now not to be regain'd) of placing him with one Mr. Tillingham, the Register to the Officiall of Essex, an honest, discreet, rich man, and happie in the education of diverse young men; with whome I had agreed for 30^{li}. to take him into his service and fitt him for the world.

As the case stands now, lett mee beg of you, for God's sake, and the memory of his uncle that left his life at Norwich, Maij

* Edmund Mason, S. T. P., who died March 24, 1634-5, and was buried at Westminster Abbey.

12°., 1619 *, to dispose of him in some competent way, but to keepe him from beggerie or extreme slaverie, with some Register or officer with you, in which trade I desire to have him trayn'd up, in hope that one day some of my freinds (of which the world conceives that I have many) may thinke him worthie of imployment under them. If this cannot be effected, lett mee entreat you to furnish him with a nag of small price, and other accommodations (for which I wilbee answerable to you, with thankes), and send him to Coton in some companie that comes to Cambridge out of your parts: and there I shall ruminate of disposing him to some loytering kynd of life or other. I knowe no man living can read a man or a youth better then your selfe, and therefore doe desire that you would be pleas'd to give mee Peter's character at full; that I may the better knowe which way to dispose of him. Perhaps he hath an inclination and aptitude to one kynd of life rather than another, and, in that case, *Naturam sequamur ducem.* He wilbee 19 yeares of age upon the 17th of December next. I beseech you lett me heare from you as soone as may be what you would counsell mee to in this buisinesse, and I will follow it *κατὰ πόδα.* I can no more at this time. My humble service to your selfe and your good wife, Mr. Chancellour and his, with the rest of my good freinds, *si qui supersint.* I rest,

At your command,
JOHN HAYWARD.

The Close in Lichfeld,
Aug: ult. 1634.

I purpose to be at Coton (*Deo dante*) the 11th of October next, *nisi quid humanitùs intereà acciderit;* for which, in regard to the hourely daunger of my infirmitie, I desire God dayly to prepare mee. I thinke I shall carry home your Linwood† for you from Mr. Latham (who remembers his respects to you) and from thence I will take present order after my returne to convey both that and your Tena [*sic: ? Catena*] in Heb: to you.

Sir, I pray doe not neglect upon all good opportunities (*quando dabuntur mollia fandi tempora*) to present my humblest respects to my Lord of Durham. Perhaps the remembrance of Overall, or of my devotions towards him, may at some time or other worke so farre upon him by such an intercessor, as to make him thinke mee worthie of some favour from his Lordship, and to plant mee neere John Cosin, where of all places I desire to be.

* Bishop Overall. It appears from a statement in Bishop Cosin's Will (which will be given hereafter), that the writer of this Letter had been instrumental in placing him with Overall in his early life. Cosin, it will be remembered, was Secretary to Bishop Overall. See *antè*, p. 3, *note.*

† He means, no doubt, Lyndwood's *Provinciale Anglicanum.*

I heare say that his kinsman, Mr. Machin, will leave his living in Northumberland *. That benefice indeed I doe not desire, but some other thing that may countervaile amply my Resident's place in Lichfeld, which (*consideratis considerandis*) would be more fitt for his kinsman then any thing my Lord can conferre upon him in the Bishoprick.

The death of my sonne Gibson, who married my daughter Ann, hath disturb'd the whole course of my intendments for settling at Lichfeld, where I had made ready a pretie resting place of 30 or 40^{li}. per annum for him, within 3 myles of Lichfeld, to be neere mee upon all occasions. *Sed Deus aliter disposuit, atque ille raptus est, 7°. Augusti ult°. elapsi.*

"To the right Wor^{ll}. my most honour'd freind, Mr. John Cosin,
Dr. in Divinitie, and Præbend of Durham, these."

XCIX.—From Dr. Cosin to Joseph Mede †.

Sir,

You have been ten times as good as your word; for every copie of your book that you sent me (besides mine owne) I have had many solemn thanks returned me from those friends here upon whom I bestowed them, all which I returne and bestow upon you againe. They read it over and over, and are so well affected with it, that wee all say here (except one, of whom I shall tell you hereafter) it will certainly conduce to the settling of men's minds and judgments in this question, more than all the other writings which have gone forth about it ‡.

* John Machon, A.M., was Vicar of Hartburn in Northumberland, which he resigned on his collation to the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, 24 Sept. 1636. He was Prebendary of Wellington in the Church of Lichfield. Bishop Morton probably brought Machon with him when he was translated from the See of Lichfield to that of Durham. There would appear, from Mr. Hayward's Letter, to have been some tie of kindred between the Bishop and the Master of Sherburn Hospital, but it does not appear in the Pedigree of Machon given by Surtees.—Hist. Durh. i. p. 143.

† Whose name is well known as that of an eminent Divine. He was a native of Essex, and related to the family of Sir John Mead of Lofts Hall in that county. In 1602 he was sent to Christ's College in Cambridge, became M.A. in 1610, and was afterwards elected Fellow of his College. He was a great letter-writer, and evidently took great interest in the events of the day. A number of his letters, chiefly addressed to his kinsman, Sir Martin Stuteville, are given in Ellis' Collection of Original Letters. He was chaplain to Archbishop Laud. He died at Christ's College, Oct. 1st, 1638.

The Letter in the text is given in Peck's Desid. Cur. xi. 13. It seemed, however, worth reprinting in this collection.

‡ There can be little doubt the book which Cosin refers to is a Tractate which Mede published in 1637, under the following title:—"The Name Altar, or ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, anciently given to the Holy Table. A common-place, or Theological Discourse, in a Colledge Chappell, more than two years since. By Joseph Mede, B.D. and Fellow of Christ's Colledge in Cambridge. London: 1637."

2. It was well you wrote to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and that your letter was so well accepted by him. I am now writing to him myselfe; and I shall not faile to doe you all the good offices that I can, as you well deserve.

3. Since my comeing from Peterhouse, there is a little organ bestowed upon us, for the scholars' private practice of singing in the parlour. They write me word from thence, that, if it were once put in tune, it might be of good use to us. I shall therefore desire you that you would suffer *your* workman (whom I think wee may best trust) as soon as you can spare him, to bestow a little pains upon it; if, for that purpose, Mr. Norwich, or some other of our fellows, shall come and make request unto you.

4. News here is none, but of their *Stone Sunday* (as they call it) from Scotland: Where, the very last Sunday but one, after the reading of the new Service Book in the Cathedral Church at Edinburgh, they had like to have slaine their bishop with *stones*, and pulled him all to pieces, for bringing in among them (as they said) the *new English Masse*. The tumult and uproar was made by 2000 of the baser sort of people, but set on, as it is thought, by others. The complaint is gone up to the King, and in the meane while many are in hold. This in Edinburgh Cathedrall *. For, in the King's chapel there, and in four other dioceses besides, the liturgie is accepted with all alacritie, and performed with as much diligence as any where among us. I commend my love heartily to you, and rest, your assured friend,

Jo. Cosin.

Durham, 4 Aug. 1637.

"To the worshipful my very good friend,
Mr. Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge."

C.—From William Milbourne †, Curate of Brancepeth, to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 83.]

Right Worshipfull,

My humble service remembred to you and to M^ris^. Cosin. I have forborne to write unto you because wee had nothing extra-

* Sunday, the 23rd of July, 1637, was the day appointed for the introduction of the new Service Book into all the Churches in Scotland. For an account of the disturbance it created in Edinburgh, to which Cosin refers in this letter, see Heylin's Cyp. Angl. Part ii. p. 328.

† Milbourne appears to have been a man of considerable attainments. He is mentioned in terms of much commendation by Jonas Moore, the author of a book published under the title of "Moore's Arithmetic. In two bookes. By Jonas

ordinarie falne out in the parish, but the seducing of George Dowthwaite's wife to Poperie, which, what strange tumults it wrought, I doubt not but Mr. Leigh hath related unto you, hee being an eye-witnesse of some of them. But for the conclusion of all at the Sessions last Richard Fawdon can declare it unto you.

Robert Barker hath sawne timber for sieling the roofe of the middle alley in the Church; and hee saith that it shall be finished this summer. But now hee is, and hath bene long at Sedgefield, about new seating the Church there. I pray God wee get offering money enough to pay for the worke: for the offerings this yeare came but to 6^{li}. 3^{s}. 5^{d}., whereof a third parte goeth to the poore; and Robert is to have 9^{li}. for his worke, besides the timber allowed him.

When M^{ris}. Cosin was at Branspeth last, shee spake to mee to make a note of all the timber in the parsonage yard. Whereupon, I, with the helpe of Robert Barker, tooke an exact view of all, measureing everie piece that was worth any thing, and setting their contents downe in a booke. And now I send unto you a copie thereof, here inclosed; together with myne accompt of moneyes received and disbursed for 3 quarters of a yeare. We like well our new lord, Mr. Cole*, for his liberalitie to the poore. Hee sent at Christmas 20^{s}. for them, and other 20^{s}. at Easter: and yesterday (the Court being at Branspeth) hee gave mee 10^{s}. to be distributed among them.

I hope my brother of London hath bene mindfull to send you some of the bookes of that copie which I made bold with your worship to read before it went to the presse, intitled by mee *Sapientia clamitans* †. The two first treatises in it (as I heare) are Dr. Jackson's, which I allwayes suspected by the stile; as you may remember I sayd unto your worship. And the other (some say) is a sermon of Dr. Donne's. I am mightilie vexed at my brother, because it is so printed upon the title page as that men being unacquainted with the matter take mee as the authour,

Moore, late of Durham. London, 12^{mo}. 1650." In the preface the author thus accounts for his taking up the study of mathematics:—"Upon the first comming in of the Scots, 1640, in a solitary retyrednesse, with a settled resolution, I fell upon the studyes Mathematicall, animated thereunto by the promised helpe of Mr. William Milburne, Minister of Brancepeth, in the county of Durham, my most worthy friend, and a great Master in all parts of learning, who not many weekes after departed this life, leaving me either in choise to give over my journey, or travell without either guide or company." Cf. also Athenæ Oxon. iv. p. 5. ed. Bliss.

* Ralph Cole, Esq., who was Mayor of Newcastle in 1633, became the purchaser of Brancepeth Castle in 1636.

† The title of Milbourne's publication is as follows:—"*Sapientia clamitans;* Wisdom crying out to sinners to returne from their evill wayes; in three treatises, on Matt. xxiii. 37, Rom. ix. 18, 19, and Eccles. xii. 1." London: 8^{vo}. 1638."

and not as the publisher onelie. I gave one of them to my Lord of Durham, signifying the truth, that I was onelie the publisher. His Lordship (I heard) read it, but liked not the opinions in it. I was with him afterwards, but hee sayd nothing at all to mee about it: yet I thought I saw in his countenance some alteration from that which it used to be to mee formerly. On the contraire I heare by Mr. Duncon that my Lord of Norwich, having one presented to his Lordship at their first coming forth, read it, and gave it a verie high commendation.

Thus, with my wife's humble dutie to your worship and M^ris. Cosin, I humblie take my leave, committing you to the protection of God, and resting,

Your Worship's to be commanded,

WILLM. MILBOURNE.

Branspeth, April 20.
1638.

"To the right wor^ll. and my verie good friend, M^r. D^r. Cosin, y^e Master of St. Peter's Colledge, in Cambridge."

CI.—A BILL FOR PLATE FURNISHED TO DR. COSIN, WHEN MASTER OF PETERHOUSE, FOR THE COLLEGE CHAPEL, &c.* [Mickleton MSS. xci. 28.]

For the Right Worshipfull Dockter Cosines. 1638.

For to [*two*] candlestickes imbosed and all gilt over for the Chapell, wayinge 145^oz 13^wt., at 8^s. the ounce, is 58^l. 4^s. 6^d.

Paid for the cases to them, 15^s.

For seven bekers, weight 81^oz. 15^wt., at 5^s. 6^d. the oz., 22^l. 9^s. 9^d.

For armes and words on them, 15^s.

For a Trencher Salt, weight 3^oz., the silver comes, 15^s.

For the fashone of it, 3^s.

Payd to Mr. Hoper, or lent one acount for the Colleg ewse, [*use*] 15^l.

For graving the armes one a flagon and words, 5^s.

Some deliv^d. 98^l. 7^s. 3^d.

* This Paper has already appeared in print, in the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Ritual, p. 219, having been adduced in support of the use of incense by the Defendant in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie. It had become known to a friend of Mr. Mackonochie that the Editor had extracted a Paper from the Mickleton MSS. which appeared to prove the use of incense by Cosin, and a request was made to him for a copy, which was put in evidence.

It may certainly be inferred from this Paper that incense was used in the Chapel at Peterhouse. Indeed, its use formed, afterwards, one of the subjects of accusation against Cosin. Cf. Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 74.

Received in part in old platt, 190oz. 19wt., at 4s. 11d. the oz. is, 47l. 6s. 9d.

Received mor in partt of the Right worshipfull Docter Cosines in mony, 15l.

Received mor old platt 105oz. 10wt. at 4s. 11d., 26l. 2s. 10d.

Some recd. in part, 88l.9s. 7d.

Rests to me of olde one thatt acount, 9l. 17s. 8d.

For the addision to the candelsticks, 26oz. 17wt., at 8s. the ounce, is 9l. 4s. 9d.

For the Sencor, 36oz. 4wts., at 8s. the ounce, is, 14l. 9s. 6d.

For altring and mending the cases, and making a newe case to the Sencor, and portredge to and frowe for Cambr[idge,] 16s.

Some totall dewe, 35l. 17s. 11d.

I shall receive in part from Mr. Thomson, 10l.

Rests for the Colledg to paye, 25l. 17s. 11d.

And I payd to that nasty Carier James, which did nott deliver my leter in time, for the box he brought from Cambredg, 3s.

Soe all is dewe, 26l. 0s. 11d.

I gave my letter to James him self in the taverne, and hee mad at the recayt of it greatt protestations of his love to your worshipp. I hope at last he brought you my leter which came with the platt. I ame wonder full of worke, for which I desier your old platt, and shall give all content when I come to Cambredg. Thus hoping of your worshipfull good helth, I rest, your faythfull servantt,

Richard Blackwell.

[*July*, 1638. *Paid him since in* 2 *old gilt candlesticks* 10l. *and in money* 10l.*]

I sent a litell silver seall in the first leter, whear in a emblen wase ingraven one it, to your sonne or dafter, as a token from your servant, R+B.

Upon the delivery of this leter I will talke with James, whie hee could not deliver the leter as well as the platt.

Received more from the Colledg: thre beakers, 3 tankards, a coledg pott, a wine cup and one cover, waying all to gether one hondred five ounces and a half, at 4s. 11d. is 26l. 2s. 10d.

The candellsticks and the other platt for the Colledg came to, as appeares by the byll that your master Docter Cosiens hath, to 98l. 2s. 3d.

For the ingraving of St. Peter, with to [*two*] armes on a flagon, and the words to it, 5s.

Some deliv^d. 98l. 7s. 3d.

* This Memorandum is in Cosin's handwriting.

Received formerly old platt, as a peres by his byll, 47l. 6s. 9d. And in mony of the dockter, 15l. and nowe this platt the 22d of June, as aperes by the particklers above riten; wayte and prise, 26l. 2s. 10d.

Some recd. 88l, 9s. 7d.

Rests to me to cleare, 9l. 17s. 8d.

Richard Blackwell.

"To the Right worll. Dr. Cosines, Mr. of Peter howse Coledg, in Cambredg."

[Indorsed, in Cosin's hand, "Mr. Blackwell's bills for plate."]

CII.—From Dr. Richard Steward* to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 72.]

Sir,

Yesterday there was a peace signed. The Scottish army is disbanding, his Majestie's castles will bee speedily delivered. There is an assembly indicted at Edenburgh Aug. 6, and a Parliament

* Dr. Richard Steward, or Stewart, was Clerk of the Closet to King Charles I, and had evidently accompanied the King on this expedition to Scotland. He was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1645, but never installed. He was afterwards Chaplain to King Charles II., whom he accompanied in his exile, and died in Paris, in 1651. A copy of his will exists amongst the Mickleton MSS. (xxvi. 77.) It is as follows:—"In the name of God, Amen. I Dr. Richard Steward, Deane of his Majestie's Chapell-royall in body but of perfect memory, doe thus declare my last Will and Testament. First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of God, my Maker and Redeemer, in hope of a joyfull resurrection, and my body to the ground in decent buriall. I make my good friendes, Guilbert Sheldon, Doctor of Divinity, and Clerke of his late Majestie's Closet, and Henry Hammond, Doctor of Divinity, mine executors of this my will, to the use of my deare sonne Charles Steward: and I give to my said sonne my picture which I leaft with my Lady Stone at the Hague, which I would have my sonne to send for. Item, I give unto my father in law, Sir William Button, Knight, a goulde ringe to be provided for him by myne executors; beseechinge him to take care of my sonne as he hath done. Item, I give to my brother, John Steward, the summe of one hundred poundes sterlinge. Item, I give unto Robert Pamplin, my servant, fifty poundes sterlinge. Item, I give unto my servant, Thomas Haynes, mine apparell, and the furniture of my chamber where now I lye. I make my good friendes Sir George Radcliffe, Knight, and Dr. John Cosens, Deane of Peterborough, overseers of this my will, whom I desire to take care of my buriall and such goods as I have in this place, especially my papers, rendringe an accompt to mine executors. And if any question arrise concerninge any goods or rights of myne, I desire mine executors to be advised therein by mine overseers. Item, I give unto the said Sir George Radcliffe two of my bookes which are here, such as he shall make choise of, and I likewise give two other of those books to the said Deane Cosens, at his election; and so also two other books apiece to every one of his Majestie's chappleins now attendinge on his Majestie. Item, I give to either of my executors one gold ring apiece. Item, wheras I have deposited with a friend (whom I have made knowne to my overseers) one hundred pounds for

Aug. 20*, where his Majesty is by promise to bee in person. But for the poore Church I can tell you little, only I hope well, and I have good groundes for my hope, if thinges bee not marr'd in the handling. Were I with you I could tell you something in your eare, but will only write my selfe,

Yours most assured,

RICH. STEWARD.

Campe†, Jun: 19.
1639.

I am trobled for the poore Church. God Almighty send things settle well.

"To my very worthy freind, Dor. Cosin, Canon of Durham."

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a pious use, I doe now desire my executors, with the advise of my overseers, to dispose thereof to such pious uses as they shall think fitt. In witnesse, &c. Nov. 15, 1651."

Evelyn's Diary contains a record of Dr. Stewart's death.—"1651. Nov. 16. Visited Dean Stewart, who had been sick about 2 daies, when going up to his lodging I found him dead, which affected me much, as besides his particular affection and love to me, he was of incomparable parts and great learning, of exemplary life, and a very great losse to the whole Church. He was buried the next day with all our Church's ceremonies, many noble persons accompanying the corps."—Diary (ed. Bray, 1819), i. p. 258. His epitaph is given in Kennett's Register (p. 261). but the date is obviously incorrect. Dean Stewart was eminent as a preacher. Some of his Sermons, under the title of "Golden Remains," were published in 1660.

* "Commissioners being on both sides appointed, they came at last to this conclusion on the seventeenth of June, viz. First, that his Majestie should confirm whatsoever his Commissioner have already granted in his Majestie's name, and that from thenceforth all matters Ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and all matters Civil by the Parliament; and to that end a general Assembly to be indicted on the sixth of August, and a Parliament on the twentieth of the same month, in which Parliament an Act of Oblivion was to pass for the common peace and satisfaction of all parties; that the Scots upon the publication of the accord, should within forty-eight hours disband all their forces, discharge all pretended Tables, and Conventicles, restore unto the King all his Castles, Forts, and Ammunition of all sorts; the like restitution to be made to all his good subjects of their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them, since the late pretended General Assembly held at Glasco; that thereupon his Majestie should presently recal his Fleet, and retire his Land Forces, and cause restitution to be made of all persons of their ships and goods detained and arrested since the first of February."—Heylin's Cyp. Angl. Part ii. p. 365. Cf. also Prynne's Hidden Works, &c. p. 180.

† The King and his Army were at this time encamped near Berwick. "1639, Maij 28. His Majesty incamped two miles west from Barwick by Tweade."—Laud's Diary, p. 56 (ed. Wharton).

CIII.—Dedicatory Epistle to King Charles I., by Dr. Cosin, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, prefixed to "Voces Votivæ," &c. *, and some verses in the same, also by Dr. Cosin.

Ad Serenissimum Dominum nostrum Regem Carolum.

Non ingratum Sacratissimæ Vestræ Majestati, neque importunum fore confidimus, si ex intimis animorum recessibus constantissimam nostram Pietatem in Conspectum Vestrum proferamus, atque inter Candidissimos Dies Lucem hanc exoptatissimam numerari curemus, quæ Vestros Penates Augustissimos alio adhuc Principe reddiderit auctiores. Ità enim et Officii nostri necessitudo, et ipsius æquitatis ratio postulabant, ut cum Liberorum Vestrorum Incrementum nostram nobis securitatem abundè adeò cumulatam ac stabilitam dederit, nos quoque cumulatis Vocibus, Votisque, quibus possumus cordatissimis, Communem hanc Felicitatem Vobis, subditisque Vestris universis ubertim congratulemur.

Ser^mæ. Ma^ti. V^ræ. à Sacris, subditus
Servusque devotissimus
Jo. Cosin, Procan. Academ.

Ad Serenissimum Regem Carolum.

Accipe summissas, Rex Augustissime, Musas,
Dum votis onerant Vota priora novis.
Sic Tibi perpetuâ fas sit florere Juventâ,
Impleat et seros Alma Maria dies.

Jo. Cosin, Procan.

CIV.—From Dr. Stewart (*probably to Dr. Cosin* †.)
[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 74.]

Sir,

When I told you our gratious Master was in better constitution of body then heretofore, I conceav'd I had fully satisfied you.

* The full title of the Book is,—"Voces Votivæ ab Academicis Cantabrigiensibus, pro novissimo Caroli et Maria Principe filio emissæ. Cantab: apud Rogerum Daniel—MDCXL."

† This Letter is certainly in Dean Stewart's handwriting, but it is unsigned and undated. Being bound up with other letters addressed by the Dean to Cosin, there can be little doubt that it is the draft copy of one which had likewise borne the same address.

For though I both found and left him in those principles you speake off, yet I could not but imagine that his so Princely and Christian carrige ever since that time had made this so plaine to the world, that the attestation of my letters had been to as little purpose as to adde a ray to the sun.

For the Uxbridge business* I cannot but continue in my former opinion. Yet, Sir, your desires have that power with mee as to make mee act to the contrary were I here able to serve you in that particular, but my papers being from mee, and they not sufficient wholy to doe your businesse without some helpe from others which now are in the handes of a freind or two (whom by God's blessing wee may one day speake with) I shall bee a sutor to you for your pacience in this thing, and that you would bee pleas'd to rest satisfied with this faithfull promise that I will observe your commaunds, so soone as I am free into a condition to obay you.

'Tis not, I thinke, possible for mee to satisfy you about my L[ord] of Cant[erbury] since if all I knew were put downe 'tis not sufficient to doe him right. A man hee was very much a Christian, of great integrity of minde, both toward Church and State. And though in some malitious braines his booke did not cleare him from the taxe of Popery, I am confident his death did†: so that ever since I have not observ'd that in any pamphlet of theirs they have cast that fond aspersion so much as upon the King himselfe. Before hee died they did not believe themselves, but since his martyrdome (for so it was) they could not so much as hope to draw others to beleive &c. 'Tis true that hee had but little love in the Court, and 'tis as true that it was cheifly for this reason, because hee there found so little honesty: there being but few of the greater quality whom hee had not some time or other much contestation with, either in defending his Master from abuse, or the Church from injury. But whether this, and many the like trueths, bee fit for the pen of an historian, I must wholy leave to your judgment: as being confident you remember both that speach and the author of it, "That if a man follow trueth too neare at the heeles, he may perhapps loose his teeth." What great thinges hee design'd when hee was put into power, and how many of those designes

* The Treaty of Uxbridge was commenced on the 30th Jan., 1644-5. Dean Stewart was one of the Commissioners on the part of the Church, in conjunction with Sheldon, (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) Lany, (afterwards Bishop of Ely) Fern, (afterwards Bishop of Chester) Potter, (afterwards Dean of Worcester and Provost of Queen's College, Oxford) and Dr. Hammond. Cf. Clarendon's Hist. ii. p. 446, & seqq. (ed. 1704), and Echard's Hist. ii. p. 515, & seqq.

† Laud was beheaded on the 10th Jan., 1644.

hee brought to perfection, a scribler * (you wot off) hath donne him the favour to put out in his Diary: a booke that, because 'twas publish'd by an adversary, has been farre the more for his honour, though hee owe nothing to that wild brute who put it out, because for want of naturall logicke hee conceav'd it had made against him. What hee alter'd in the Church was only to bring her nearer unto the rule of her owne Reformation; that is, the text as 'twas understood and practis'd in the best and most primitive times. This I can adde farther, that hee had an inclination to have alter'd the too frequent use of the oath *ex officio* in the High Commission; at least to have proposed his conceipt of it in Parliament, and to have had it regulated (as much as in him lay) by the helpe of some well studied law, but not to abolish it, because 'tis of so great use in all kind of goverments. For his morralls, all know hee liv'd not only free from scandall, but his life was exemplary, and fit for a Bishop, both in regard of his hospitality and of other his good workes, which were indeed of a very eminent greatnesse, if they bee compar'd with his fortune. I had said enough had I said no more then this, that hee was very free from covetousnesse, and a very excellent freind.

I find that sentence you name in Grotius, and in that very page you quote, 270, edit: Amster: in fol: *Reges qui bello solenni victi, regnoque exuti sunt, cum aliis regni bonis et jus legandi perdiderunt* †. These are his owne wordes, and I conceave they hold true, *jure gentium*. And, for satisfaction to your last quære, I shall only returne you some more of his owne wordes, as the best commentary on him selfe: *Ut bellum solenne sit ex jure gentium duo requiruntur: primum ut geratur utrimque auctore eo qui summam potestatem habeat in civitate. Deinde ut ritus quidam adsint, de quibus agemus suo loco.* L. I. cap. 3. § *nro.* 4 ‡. Those rites hee names Lib. III. c. 3. The cheife of them is publicke denunciation, of which hee thus there speakes § 11. *Causa autem cur gentes ad bellum illud, quod jure gentium justum dicimus, denunciationem requirerent, non ea fuit quam afferrunt nonnulli, ne quid clam aut dolo agerent, id enim ad fortitudinis præstantiam magis quam ad jus*

* This "scribler" was, it need scarcely be said, Prynne, who published the Archbishop's Diary under the following title:—"A Breviate of the Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, extracted (for the most part) verbatim, out of his own Diary, and other writings under his owne hand. Fol. Lond: 1644." It was published about the beginning of September in that year. Cf. Preface to Hen. Wharton's ed. of Laud's Diary, &c. Lond: 1695.

† Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, L. II. c. xviii. § 2. 2. In the edition before the Editor (Amst. 1670) the page is 299.

‡ Ib. p. 50.

pertinet, sicut nationes quædam etiam prælii diem et locum condixisse leguntur: sed ut certo constaret non privato ausu, sed voluntate utriusque populi, aut populi capitum geri bellum: nam inde nati sunt effectus peculiares, qui, neque in bello adversus prædones, neque in eo quod Rex gerit in subditos, locum habent.*

I rest, Sir,
Your honor's most humble servant,
[Rich. Steward.]

[Undated. Probably written in 1645.]

CV.—From H. M. to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. Letters, Latin, English, and French. 42.]

Sir,

I was in good hope to have seen you my selfe ere this, butt finding it uncertaine when I shall have that hapinesse, I could nott send to Paris without enquiring of your health, and how you breake those waves which I believe have often dasht against you since your parting from us. Wee are told heere the L. K.† is comming very fast backe agayne to us, I could wish she were come, and shall beleive it when you say it, till then I shall heartily pray for her returne. I will say nothing to her now but entreat you to present my most humble service to her L[adyship,] and I am sure if she butt follow your advice, and the dictats of her own conscience, it will not be long ere she make herselfe most quiet and happy. If you heare of any newes I shall desire you to make me partaker of them, and you shall oblige

Your affectionate and humble Servant,
H. M.‡

St. German's, Feb: 1. 1645.

"For my honored Frend, the Deane of Peterborough,
Att the Louvre, Paris."

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* Ib. p. 460.

† Probably Lady Kynalmeaky, who appears to have been a very unstable person with regard to religion, as will be seen hereafter, in the course of the correspondence between Cosin and Dean Stewart. Elizabeth, Viscountess Kynalmeaky, was daughter of William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh, and wife of Lewis, Viscount Boyle of Kynalmeaky in Ireland. She was created Countess of Guilford for life, 14th July, 1660, and died in 1673, when the title became extinct.—See Nicolas' Historic Peerage of England. Lady Kynalmeaky's mother was sister to the Duke of Buckingham, and to that alliance Lord Denbigh appears to have been much indebted for his peerage. He is said in his Patent dated 14 Sept. 20 Jac. I., to have been created Earl of Denbigh, "*ob generis claritatem, et nuptias admodum honorandos; sed præcipue ob eximiam virtutem, et erga nos et coronam nostram fidem.*"—Collins' Peerage.

‡ It seems idle to hazard a guess as to the writer of this Letter. The initials were probably arbitrary.

CVI.—From III. to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. Letters, Latin, English, and French. 43.]

Sir,

Just now I [have a] letter from you of the 2 of July (*stilo novo*) and by that I find you have received my letters and that from M. M. I am very hartily sorry to heare your northerne businesse hath proved soe ill, but the world is soe full of knaves that it is the lesse beyond expectation. On Thursday last I sent you another letter from M. M., and shall now send your's thither. The particulars of your businesse I remember, but shall not have opportunity to speak with M. M. about it. I wish I were able to doe you any servise in it, or in any thing. I doe not hear that any of the bishops you mencion preached before the King, but they were admitted to kiss his hand, but not to speake with him in private that I can heare of.

Since my last, (notwithstanding a letter from the parliament to advise the King, contrary to their former votes, for his coming to Richmond, not to advance nearer then Royston, in case that letter came to his hands after hee were come from Newmarket, and if before he came from Newmarket, then not to stirr from thence) the King is march't this way, and on Saturday night came to Hatfeild, and I beleive will this day remove towards Hampton Court, but to what certaine place this night I cannot tell. Things yet stand very doubtful, for though the King bee in the Army, I doe not certainly know that they are yet agreed in all things, for some are as confident that by meanes of my Lord of Northumberland and Lord Say there will bee a settlement made betwixt the Army and the Parliament, in which the King and his party shall not be considered, yet others (to which opinion I rather incline) doe thinke that the difference is gone soe high that nothing but the resetling of the King can give security to the Army, and many are of opinion that, upon a declaration delivered to the King on Saturday last, yesterday they made a full agreement. But this is most true, that, upon the 11 members impeached forbearing to sit in the house*, the Army hath forborne to advance nearer this town than Uxbridge, where their head quarter now is; they having before sent to take up quarters as nere this place as Kensington. The Citty is as yet unwilling to declare against the Army, though all plots are used to make them feare the

* On the 16th June the Army had demanded the impeachment of eleven members of the House of Commons, amongst whom were Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Waller, Massey, and Brown. On the 26th these members ceased to occupy their seats in the House, a vote was passed adopting all the proceedings of the Army, and Commissioners were appointed on either side to manage the affairs of the Kingdom. —Cf. Clarendon's Hist. iii. p. 44, ed. 1704.

Army intends to plunder or fire the Citty (for this day, to scar the people, they have brought their water squirts for quenching of fire into the streets, as who should say the Citty is to be fired shortly). The Navie hath declared for the Army, notwithstanding they were offered from the Parliament an increase of the Mariners' pay from 14s. to 24s. a month. Both houses have voted that Judge Jinkins* shall be tryed as a traytor at the King's Bench Bar, for fomenting the Insurrection in South Wales, but that is quieted by the subtilty of Langhorne, who pretending to thinke well of their demands, and that he would assist them in obteyning them, perswaded them to disperse and returne to their owne houses, and then, keeping his force intire, disarmed the principall of them, and hath put such a terrour in the rest, that for the present they remaine quiet. The Lords have voted the Cavaliers out of Town for 40 days, but I do not heare the Commons have assented to it, ner that both houses have done any thing in pursuance of their Vote for the tryall of Judge Jinkins. I heare by some that have read it that there is a Declaration of the King's, printed at Cambridge, wherein he relates all the passages both before he went from Oxford and since, concerning his goeing to the Scotch Army, and that with many bitter truths against the Nation, but of this as yet I cannot get a Coppy, but I send you here inclosed the heads of a Declaration which was delivered to the King as I am told on Satturday last. On Sunday, in the presence at Hatfeild, the King had the Book of Common Prayer read to him by Dr. Crofts, that formerly wayted as Clarke of the Closet, in which playce Dr. Shelden wayted on him that day, and Dr. Hamond preached to him, but the Commissioners would partake of none of all this, but went to the Church in the Towne, where they stayed not neyther, for instead of the Directory they [had] an officer in his buf coate and sword preaching against the Presbiterian Goverment as antichristian. Sir, I shall trouble you noe further in present, but rest

Your most faithfull Servant,

III.

London Junii 28°. 1647.

The Duke of Richmond went on Satturday morning over the ferry at Greenewich, in his way from Cobham to Hatfeild.

The House hath refused to give leave to the 11 Members im-

* Judge of South Wales. "'Being taken prisoner at the surprize of Hereford, for his notable vindication of the King's cause, he was carried first to the Chancery, then to the King's Bench, and at last to the bar of the House of Commons, the authority of all which places he denied.'—Lloyd, p. 589. 'So that his life was often threatened, which he was always prepared to lose, with his Bible under one arm, and Magna Charta under the other.'—Echard, p. 12."—Peck's Desid. Cur. xiv. p. 543. Judge Jenkins died Dec. 6, 1663, æt. 81.

peached to travaile, not but that, (I am confident) if there bee occasion, they may goe where they please, but that they conceive it below the honor of the house to graunt any such leave upon this particular occasion.

"For my hon^d. freind Mr. John [Cosin]
Deane [of Peterborough] these."

Leave this with Mr. Richard Forder, at the Queene of England's Court at Paris, or else where.

[The seal is a heart pierced with three arrows.]

CVII.—A Declaration of the ancient Catholic Faith and Doctrine of the Fathers, concerning the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament: shewing that the doctrine of Transubstantiation (as it was first set forth by Pope Innocent the Third, in his pretended Council of Lateran, and afterwards by Pope Pius the 4th, in the end of the late Council of Trent) was not the faith or doctrine of the Catholic Church in any age before them. And an answer to the pretended authorities of the twelve hundred and twenty fathers produced for the upholding of his opinion who entitled his writing "Transubstantiation Maintained." M.D.C.XLVII. [From the original MS. in Cosin's handwriting, in the possession of the Editor.]

THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION UNKNOWNE TO THE ANCIENT CHURCH: IN ANSWERE TO A WRITING WHICH THE AUTHOR INTITLED "TRANSUBSTANTIATION MAINTEYNED."

Chap. I.—*Our difference, and the state of the Question.*

The Transubstantiators (I trust it will not displease them to be called by that name which they have taken upon them to mainteyne) and wee that defend the doctrine of our ancient and Catholic forefathers in the faith of Christ, concerning His reall presence in the Blessed Sacrament, are at this difference.

They say, It is not enough for us, that wee believe and confesse the Body and Bloud of our Lord to be truly given and taken in that Holy Sacrament after an heavenly and spirituall manner; and that the Earthly Elements, after they be once consecrate for that heavenly purpose, are now changed from their owne simple condition, and exalted from their common nature to the dignitie of sublime, holy, and Divine mysteries of our religion; but unlesse wee will, over and besides all this, believe

and confesse that after the words of consecration, the elements themselves are quite vanished away, (their accidents only remayning behind,) and that the whole intire substance of the Bread and Wine is essentially and properly turned into the whole intire substance of the Body and Bloud of our Saviour, (which they call their Doctrine of Transubstantiation) they say that wee doe not hold that Catholic faith which they pretend to have bin profess'd and taught in all ages of the Church.

In the meane while, wee are confident, that as this doctrine was unknowne to all antiquitie, so the Roman Church it selfe, (till of late dayes) never held it, being (indeed) destructive of the ancient doctrine delivered to us both by Scriptures and Fathers.

And this being the true state of the question betweene us, whether this doctrine of Transubstantiation hath bin the faith of the Church or no in all ages before us; I will passe through those ages in order, and shew both the strength of our assertion, and the weakness of theirs.

When I have done this, I will answere the pretended autorities of twelve hundred and twenty Fathers, [*In margine:*— wherof 1200 are brought out of the Councel of Lateran, and those but pretended neither, as late a Councell as that was, being no lesse than 1215 yeers after Christ,] which the author of a writing, lately delivered to me, and intituled "Transubstantiation Mainteyned," hath (as he conceiveth) brought forth in a full torrent* against us.

Chap. II.—*That the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was not taught by Christ, nor by His Apostles, in the first Age of the Church.*

Illud verum, quod primum. That which is the ancientest, is the truest doctrine, as Tertullian gave the rule in his Prescriptions against Heresies. If then wee would know, whether that doctrine which the Transubstantiators, or that which wee hold in this point, be the truest or most Catholick; wee are to begin and consider, first, which of us best hold of *the faith that was once delivered to the saints* †, and afterwards propagated by the Fathers and doctors of the Church to succeeding ages.

Cleere it is by the testimony of Divine writ, that our Saviour, at the institution of His Blessed Sacrament, *took, and blest, and brake, and gave to His disciples* that *Bread* which He called *His Body;* and distributed that *Cup,* which He called *His Bloud;* saying of the one, *This is My Body;* and of the other, *This is My*

* His owne word:—"Never was there such a torrent of Fathers for any one article of our belief."

† Jude *v.* 3.

Bloud *. Wherin the veritie † of the elements still remayning, and the veritie of His Bodie and Bloud, therewithall given, are most manifestly expressed. And least there should be any doubt of either, or what He meant by the word (*This*), He addeth, *This Cup is My Bloud* ‡; and *when they had all drunk of it*, He calleth that which was conteyned in it, *the fruit of the vine* §. So that though the Bloud of Christ in this Sacrament was truly exhibited, yet the wine remayned in substance (being altered in condition) and was not transubstantiated into another substance.

That which St. Paul *receyved of our Lord, he delivered unto the Church* ||. And he, in the very use of this Holy Sacrament, (when the elements are blest and consecrate, to communicate the Bodie and Bloud of Christ to us) delivereth us this doctrine, that *the Bread which wee breake, is the communion of the Body of Christ* ¶; that *wee are all partakers of that one Bread* **, that *wee eat of this Bread*, and that *wee drink of this Cup* ††, and saith it three times over. Where St. Paul speaks no metaphors, nor makes any more tropes of the Bread and the Cup, then he doth of the Body and Bloud of our Saviour, but speaks truths and realities in both.

And if the doctrine of Transubstantiation, or a necessitie of believing that there is no Bread and Wine remayning in the Sacrament, had bin to be found in Scripture, wee may well believe that Scotus, and Ockham, together with others, (whom I will here produce) as quick-sighted men, and of as cleere an understanding as any in their time, would have bin able to see it there.

But Scotus saith expressly ‡‡, "That he could not see any such expresse place of Scripture to inforce Transubstantiation, without the declaration of the Church §§," (that is, of Innocent the 3rd) in the (pretended) Councel of Lateran (for of that Councel there is some doubt, as shalbe declared hereafter); but "before that time," he tells us plainly, (as Cardinal Bellarmine confesseth ||||) "that it was not any doctrine of faith." Of which sayings delivered by Scotus, this also is the censure given by the same Cardinal, for asmuch as concerns the Scripture at least ¶¶. "That it is not altogether improbable, this; for though the Scripture, by the words, *This is My Body*, seemeth to us so cleere, as that it

* S. Mat. xxvi. 26., & S. Mar. xiv. 22., & S. Luc. xxii. 19., & 1 Cor. xi. 23.
† The verity wherof is destroyed by the doctrine of Transubstantiation.
‡ S. Mar. xiv. 23. § Ibid. *v.* 25. || 1 Cor. xi. 23.
¶ 1 Cor. x. 16. ** Ib. *v.* 17. †† 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.
‡‡ In 4m. Dist. xi. q. 3.
§§ Which was not then made, by the confession of the Cardinal of Ailly. (Page prox.) And (as we plead) is not made yet by the Catholick Church.
|||| De Euch. iii. 23. § *unum tamen.* ¶¶ Ib. § *Secundo.*

may inforce a man who is not wayward*; yet, whether it be so or no, it may well be doubted, when as men most learned and acute (such as Scotus was with the first) doe judge the contrary."

Of the same mind was Ockam: "A man may hold that together with the forme remaynes also the substance of bread; for this is not repugnant to reason, nor to any autoritie of the Bible †."

And the Cardinal D'Ailly went further herein then either Scotus or Ockam, for he sayes asmuch as they doe, and more; "That the ceasing of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament is not to be shewne either by any evidence in the Scripture, nor yet (in his judgment) by any determination of the Church ‡."

Biel likewise writing upon the Canon of the Masse: "After that manner the Body of Christ is in the Eucharist, whether by conversion of any thing into it, or whether without conversion, (the substance and the accidents of the Bread remayning) it is not expressed in the Canon of the Bible §."

And Cardinal Caietan: "There is nothing appeares in the Gospel, which doth necessitate us to understand these words (S. Mat. xxvi. 26.) properly, or to be a proper conversion ‖."

To whom wee may yet adde another Cardinall, Joh. Roffen., one of our Bishops in England, whose judgment of the place in St. Matthew (*This is My Bodie*) is the same. "Here is never a word to prove the reall presence of Christ's Body and Bloud in our Masse ¶;" meaning Transubstantiation.

Which is the reason that Melchior Canus, a Bishop of Spaine**, reckoned "the conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Bloud of Christ," among those things that "are not express'd in the Holy Scriptures."

Wee have pass'd the first Age, for I know no other writings, (but those of the Evangelists and Apostles) of any good credit, to direct us for the doctrine of the Catholick Church in that time. I goe on to the second Centurie. But first:—

Now, let us resume here a little; holding us (as the rule is given us by the author of "Transubstantiation Mainteyned") to matter of fact and testimonie. Our Saviour *took Bread*, and said, *This is My Body*, and yet He said nothing of Transubstantiation for all that; at least, "It may be doubted whether He did or no;" as Bellarmin: "Men that were most acute and learned have held, that He did not;" as Scotus: "There is no

* That is, in his opinion, which is not only contrary to others, but to himself also, as in the words here following.

† In iv. q. 6. ‡ In iv. q. 6. art. 2. § Lect. xl.

‖ In iii. q. 75. art 1. ¶ Contra Capt. Babylon. Luth. cap. 1.

** In loc. com. lib. iii. c. 3.

necessitie to inforce it;" as Cardinall Caietan: "There is never a word to prove it;" as the Cardinall of Rochester: "It is not evident either by Scripture or the determination of the Church;" as the Cardinall de Alliaco: "To say that the substance of the Bread remaines, is not repugnant to the autoritie of the Scriptures;" as Ockam: "To say, that it is properly converted into the Body of Christ, is not express'd in the Canon of the Bible;" as Biel and Canus.

So that Christ's words may be true (as most true they were,) and yet Transubstantiation made no Article of the Christian faith. It was not so in the first, let us see what it was in the next Age of the Church.

Chap. III. *That the doctrine of Transubstantiation was not taught by the Fathers, in the* 2d. *Age.*

My taske is to produce twelve hundred and twenty Fathers, (I will deale liberally with him that hath imposed this taske upon me*, and give him more) to prove, that the elements of Bread and Wine remaine in the Blessed Sacrament, and though the qualitie and condition of them be changed, yet that their substance is not properly converted into the Body and Bloud of our Saviour, alwayes remembring, that the verity of His Body and Bloud, (according to His own Divine words, and the perpetual belief of the Church), is supposed.

I begin with the most ancient, and will produce no other then the undoubted records of those Fathers who have bin famous for their learning and sanctitie in the Church of Christ. And all in their order, begining with,—

Saint Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, and the second Bishop of Antioch, being St. Peter's successor there, whose words of the Blessed Sacrament are these: (in his Epistle to the Philadelphians) "There is one only loafe (or Bread) broken unto all, and one only Cup distributed unto all." He calls that Bread still, which was broken and distributed to the Communicants, after it was consecrate. St. Ignatius ye Martyr. Ao. Christi 108.

St. Justin Martyr, in his 2d. Apologie for the Christians, (where he explicateth the words, and describeth the ancient rites of celebrating this Holy Sacrament in his owne time,) saith, that the Blessed elements of Bread and Wine are not only the Bodie and Bloud of St. Justin Martyr. Ao. Dñi. 150.

* "Let him that shall undertake to answer bring twelve hundred and twenty Fathers for his opinion."—*Author of Transubstantiation mainteyned.*

Christ, (as truly so they be,) but the very meat and drink also which is changed into our owne bodies, and whereby our owne flesh and bloud is nourished. And these be his expresse words: "When the priest hath given thanks," (or blest the elements) "those whom wee call the deacons" (or ministers) "give to every one that is present of the Bread, and Wine and Water, over which thanks were made, to receive them; and then they carry of the same to those that are absent. And this nourishment is by us called the Eucharist, &c. For wee take it not as common bread, or as a common cup. But as Christ our Saviour was incarnate for us by the word of God, so have we learn'd, that this aliment (over which, by prayer of the word that came from Him, thanks were given, and by which aliment *our owne bloud and flesh is nourished by mutation*,) is His Flesh and Bloud, Who was *made Flesh* for us." And afterwards: "After we have made an end of the prayer, they present (as we have said before) the Bread, the Wine and Water," &c. (1.) Here he calls those elements, which were *already blest and sanctified*, by the expresse names of "*bread* and *wine*." (2.) When they were distributed to the Communicants, he calls them so againe. (3.) And addeth, "That by them and their mutation into our bodies, our flesh and bloud is nourished" (which, if the substance of them were gone, the accidents alone could not doe). (4.) And yet, that they are not taken "as common bread and wine" are for that purpose, but to be "the mysteries of the veritie of the Body and Bloud of Christ" unto us.

St. Irenæus, Bp. of Lions. Aº. 180.

St. Irenæus, in his Bookes against the Hereticks, telleth us, that there be two things in the Eucharist of divers kinds. Lib. iv. c. 34., "The Bread which is of the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is not now common bread, but the Eucharist of the Body and Bloud of Christ, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly." But if the substance of bread be taken away, there is no earthly thing in it. Againe, Lib. v. c. 2., "When the mixt Cup, and the Bread have received the word of God, they are made the Eucharist of the Bodie and Bloud of Christ; of which our flesh consisteth, and by which the substance of our flesh is nourished:" which cannot be understood, but by reason of the substance of those elements remayning in the Eucharist. So that here wee have a most manifest declaration of the Catholick faith and doctrine in those elder ages of the Church; that in the Blessed Sacrament, there is a *terrene*, and a *celestial* part, consisting (even after it is consecrate by invocation) of the earthly substance of bread, and the heavenly substance of Christ's Body, and not that the one is transubstantiated into the other.

Clement of Alexandria, the master of Origen, and a priest of great accompt in the Church, Lib. ii. *Pædag.* c. 2., proving against the Encratites, that by the example of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, it was lawfull to drink wine, saith expressely; "You know that Christ, as he was Man, drank the wine, and that He blest the Wine, saying &c.," and a little after, "And that the same thing which He blest was wine, He declareth it againe, saying to His disciples, *I will drink no more of the fruit of this vine.*" He speaks it of the wine which Christ drank out of the chalice after consecration; and his purpose is, to make it cleere by our Saviour's owne act, that it is lawfull to drink wine in the Eucharist. Againe, in the first Book of his *Stromata*, "Our Saviour having first taken the Bread, gave thanks, and then, having broken it, propos'd it to this end, that wee should eat it *reasonably*," that is, not as common bread, but as the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ. And likewise in the 2d. Book of his *Pædag.* c. 2., "The Scripture hath called the mysticall wine the symbole of Christ's Holy Bloud." But the accidents of wine are no wine; and that which is the *symbole* of another thing, cannot be said to be the thing itselfe, in a proper sense; nor to be essentially converted into it*.

Clem. Alexand. Aº. 193.

So that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was not the faith of the Fathers in the 2d. Age. Wee proceed to the 3d.

CHAP. IIII. *That the Bread and Wine in the Blessed Sacrament are not properly transubstantiated into the Body and Bloud of our Saviour.*

The doctrine of the 3d. Age.

In this age lived Tertullian, Origen, and St. Cyprian. I will alledge their testimonies in order.

Tertullian, in his first Book against Marcion, c. 14: "Our Saviour represented His Bodie by the Bread;" and Lib. iii. c. 19., *contrà eundem:* "God hath reveiled it in the Gospell, calling the Bread His Body, to the end thou may'st understand from thence, that He hath now given the figure of His Body to the Bread." And Lib. iv. c. 40: "What He would have the Bread to signifie, He declared sufficiently, calling the Bread His Body." And againe, "Our Lord having taken the Bread, and distributed the same to His disciples, He made it His Body, saying, "*This is My Body*, that is, This is the figure of My Body. But the figure of His Body it

Tertullian. Aº. 210.

* Tertullian & alii, *infrà*, p. 14, & p. 16. [This reference is to the page in the MS. See hereafter, pp. 240, 241.]

had not bin, unlesse His Body had bin a Body of truth" (that is, unlesse Christ had had a true Bodie, which Marcion the heretick denied, and said it was a phantasme that Christ assumed). "For that which is a phantasme, cannot be capable of a figure." And Lib. ii. c. 4: "The figure cannot be the verity itselfe, equall to it in all things;" as the Bread would be, if it were wholy converted into the Body of Christ. And hereunto what he writeth, *De Resurrect.* c. 37: "Because they thought Christ's word hard, and unsufferable, as if He had said, that men must verily (or properly) eate His flesh, therefore to dispose their spirit aright in the estate of salvation, He had told them before, that it is the Spirit which giveth life." Thus is Tertullian against any proper mutation. And so is,—

Origen. Aº. 240.

Origen, in his 7th Hom. upon Levit: "If you follow according to the letter that which is said, *Unlesse you eate My Flesh and drinke My Bloud*, this letter killeth." In his 8 book against Celsus: "The symbole which wee have in our thanksgivings to God, is the Bread called the Eucharist." And in his 3d. Dialogue, *De Christo Homine*, speaking (as Tertullian did) against the hereticks who denied Christ to have any true body; "If Christ hath neither flesh nor bloud (as these men talk), of what flesh then, of what body, of what bloud shall the Bread and the Cup which He administred, be the signes and images?" But the signes and images of the Body is not properly the Body it self, as Origen himself hath told us, in his 4th Tract. upon the Epistle to the Romans; "The signe is said to be, when by this which is seene, *another thing* is intended to be showne." Againe speaking of the Sacrament, in his 35 Tract. upon S. Matthew: "This meat which is hallowed by the word of God and prayer, according to the materiall part of it, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the draught; but according to the prayer which was made over it, after the proportion of faith it becomes profitable and efficacious to cleere the spirit, having regard and being attentive to that part which profiteth; and that is not the matter of the Bread, but the word that is spoken over it, which is profitable to him that eateth it not unworthily to the Lord. And thus much of the typicall and symbolicall Body." I believe that this doctrine of the ancient Church, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation will never stand together. And though divers endeavours have bin made to reconcile them, yet it will not be; for Origen doth here expressely distinguish the True and Immortal Body of Christ from His typicall and symbolicall Body, making the holy Sacrament to consist of them both; the one materiall, and the other spirituall: the materiall part belonging to the belly, and

the spirituall part to the soule. Nor will it suffice to say*, "The accidents only (without matter) are the materiall part," for that saying confuteth it selfe; or to say†, "That the symbolicall and typicall Body is all one and the same with the True and Immortall Body of Christ," for the same thing cannot be the symbole and type of it selfe; as St. Hilarie speakes in his Book *De Synodis*, and St. Ambrose in his first Book *De Fide*, together with S. Augustine in his 7th. Book *De Trinitate*, and S. Cyrill of Alexandria, in his 3d. Book upon St. John; the reason being added by St. Gregory Nyssen in his Book *De Animâ*, "For that the symbole or image should not be the image, if it were altogether the same with that wherof it is the image." Bread and wine then are the symboles, and the Body and Bloud of Christ being the things signified, the one is not transubstantiated into the other by the doctrine of Origen. The next is,—

St. Cyprian. Aº. 250.

St. Cyprian the Martyr, and the Bishop of Carthage, in his 63 Epistle: "By the Wine the Bloud of Christ is expressed, and by the Bread his Bodie. Our Lord calleth His Bodie bread, made of many graines, and His Bloud wine, strayned out of many grapes. Christ offered the same things that Melchizedech offered, that is to say, bread and wine." And Lib. ii. Ep. 3, speaking of the chalice which our Saviour had hallowed, he calls it "the creature of the vine. Wee find that it was wine which He called His Bloud. And, how shall we drink new wine with Christ in the Kingdome of His Father, if, in the sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ, wee doe not offer wine?" Againe, "The Bloud of Christ cannot be express'd in the chalice, when there is no wine in the chalice whereby it is express'd." And this is so cleere a proof for us, that if in the consecrated chalice there be no wine left, there will be no sacrament, no offring, much lesse will there be any Transubstantiation.

I know that St. Cyprian is cited for the author of that book (which is usually printed with his workes) *De card: operib. Serm: de Cœnâ Dñi.*, from whence the doctrine of Transubstantiation is thought to be collected by these words: "This Bread, which our Lord gave to His disciples, being changed, not in figure, but in nature, was by the Almightie power of His Word made flesh†." And this testimonie is said to be so strong against us, "as it admits no solution‡". And Bishop Lindan is so taken with it that he sayes, "They be the golden words of St. Cyprian, the pillar of the ancient Catholick Church, and one

* Bellar. de Euch. l. ii. c. 8. § *Ad secundum.* † Ib. § *Ad tertium.*
† Author. Serm. de card. Christi operib. Serm. de Cœn. Dñi. apud Cyprianum.
‡ Bell. L. ii. de Euch. c. 9. § *Secundum.*

who deserves to be credited by us before all others;" wishing us therefore "to open our eyes, and to give eare unto him, as to a most incorrupt judge of controversies, the Doctor, and the wonder of the whole world; who by those words hath taught us, That the Bread is chang'd into the Body of Christ*." A man would think here were somewhat now to doe.

But first, "This Book is none of St. Cyprian's†." "It is untruly attributed to him; those sermons are falsly inscribed to St. Cyprian," saith Card. Bellarmin ‡; and gives his reasons for it §; "Because it teacheth such things as be contrary to St. Cyprian's doctrine: nor would Saint Cyprian ever have cal'd his writings, (as this author doth to Cornelius) childish toyes, &c." Againe, "The author of that sermon *De Cœnâ Domini* is not St. Cyprian ||; and Pamelius, who tooke paines to write a commentary upon him, is of the same mind ¶.

Then 2ly., it is not the book of any such ancient author as either Possevin or Pamelius conceiveth, who tells us, that it was written in the time of Cornelius and Cyprian, and therefore deserveth to have the same autoritie that S. Cyprian hath. But Card. Bellarmin confesseth ingenuously, that without all doubt these sermons were written by an author who lived after St. Cyprian and St. Augustin both, that is, an hundred and seventie yeeres after St. Cyprian, at the least, if it be not rather neere upon nine hundred yeeres more, for those sermons are found extant under the name of Arnoldus Bonavillacensis** [*In margine*:—In MS. Coll: Om: Anim: Oxon.] and dedicated not to Cornelius, but to Pope Hadrian the 4th., who lived about the yeere 1150.

And 3ly., as late or as ancient as this author is, he is no friend to Transubstantiation, for in one of those sermons he calls the Eucharist, after consecration, Bread and Wine expressely. "In the Table our Lord gave Bread and Wine with His owne hands;

* In Panopl. Lib. iv. c. 6 & 44.

† Possevinus in App. verb. *Cyprianus*, et præf. in App. in fine.

‡ Bell. Lib. vi. de Am. gr. c. 2 § *Author*.

§ Id. De Script. Eccl. in Cypriano.

|| Bell. de Euch. lib. iv. c. 26. § *Respond*. ¶ Præf. in Tom. iii.

** Cosin does not give the name of this author with perfect correctness. It ought to be *Bonæ-vallis*. The Manuscript referred to is still in the Library of All Souls' College, and is thus described in Mr. Coxe's Catalogue:—xix. 6. Arnaldi, Abbatis Bonæ-vallis [Carnotensis], de cardinalibus Christi operibus ad Adrianum Papam liber in homilias tredecim distinctus, cum prologo, fol. 55. Exstat impress. sub nomine Cypriani, edit. Fell, in app. p. 20. Incip. prol. "Sublimes materie subtilium ingeniorum." Incip. homil. I. "De natali D. N. Ihesu Christi. Adest Christi multum desiderata." Desin. ult. de Spiritu in Pentecoste, "cognoscibilis Deus et inhabitator Spiritus sanctus."—Catal. Cod. MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur. Confecit H. O. Coxe, A. M. Bibl. Bodl. Hypo-Bibliothecarius. Pars II. p. 5.—Ed.

in the Crosse He gave His Body to be crucified by the hands of the souldjers *." And in this very sermon *De Cœnâ Domini*, "As oft as wee doe this, wee doe not whet our teeth, but with pure and sincere faith wee break and distribute the hallowed Bread: wee suck the bloud, and fasten our tongues upon the very wounds of our Redeemer, whereby being made red (rubricated) both within and without, wee are thought by the witts of this world to be out of our witts †." I believe he had some spirituall meaning here, and spake this not of the tongues in their heads, as if they could suck the Bloud that issued out of Christ's wounds, and grow red by it both within and without; but in a sacrament, (for without this sacramentall receiving of His Bloud they held it to be no Sacrament,) understanding it spiritually of fixing their faith and their soules upon it. Againe, "Our Lord even unto this day doth create this His Bodie ‡." I trow this is meant of the sacramentall part, or, as Origen cal'd it, the mysticall and symbolicall Bodie of Christ, and not of His naturall Bodie, which no man will say is every day newly created. And if the sacramentall part be there, and (as this author addeth) "be broken and divided §" (which Christ's Bodie cannot be), there is yet no Transubstantiation to be collected out of his words.

Nor 4ly. out of the words alledged. "The Bread is changed, not in figure (or forme), but in nature, by the power of Christ's Almighty word, &c. ||," for he doth not say, that the *substance* of the Bread is changed, or that the *essence* of the Bread is quite taken away; but that the Bread is changed in *nature:* where by *nature* he understands not the *substance* or the *essence* of Bread it selfe, (for he had said before, that after consecration, the Bread it selfe, and therefore the substance of it, was there,) but the accidentall properties, the virtue, the condition, the office, the use, the dignitie of the Bread, being now by a solemne benediction exalted to be the Sacrament of Christ's Bodie, for so is the word *nature* most frequently taken and understood by all men, both learned and unlearned. It is the nature and condition of a man, and of any thing els, that wee use in speech to confound together. Tully said, "This is the nature and power of the soule, to move it self ¶," and yet that is not the essence, but the property of it. *Naturam expellas furcâ, &c.***. You may change a man's nature and condition, but his substance and essence you cannot drive from him. "Wee call it the nature of the soile ††,"

* Serm. de Christo inter eosd. Serm.
‡ Ibid.
|| Ibid. ut suprà.
** Horat.
† Serm. de Cœnâ Dñi. ibid.
§ Ibid.
¶ In Som. Scip.
†† Plinie.

that is, the qualitie or condition of the place. *Naturam consuetudine fuerit**, custome brought him to another nature, and yet it did not change his essence. *Illud mirum, &c.*, strange it is (saith Plinie) "that trees should sometimes change their natures standing still in the same places." And yet the trees were not transubstantiated; they changed their power and vigour, and not their substance. St. Augustine: "By the sin of our first parents, the nature of man was changed†;" and yet I think it was not transubstantiate, or chang'd in essence and substance, but in condition and dignitie. Which is likewise Cardinall Bellarmin's sense, "By sin nature is not chang'd in respect of the parts and naturall members, but in regard of actions and offices only‡." And when the Glosse in the Canon Law said, "That the Pope could change the nature of things§," it did not believe there was any Transubstantiation in the matter, but, by applying the substantialls of one thing to another. As then the nature of these things is changed, so is the nature of the Bread in the Eucharist said to be changed by this author *De Cœnâ Domini;* not that it loseth its former substance and essence, or the substantiall properties and conditions that it had before; but that it receiveth a new supernaturall condition, and a new superadded dignitie, which it had not before, to become the mysticall symbole, and the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body. And this change in the Bread is wrought only by the Almightie power of His Word, because He only can adde and give unto it this dignity, power, and efficacie, that is, that it may be not only a signe, but also an efficacious instrument of exhibiting Christ's Body, and conferring grace to the faithfull. For as He alone can conferre grace, and give us His owne Body by His Omnipotent power, so He alone can ordaine a Sacrament, and by the same Almighty power designe the element of Bread to such a sacred, mysticall, and celestiall use. And this is the sense of that author, as it was of St. Cyprian, and the Fathers of the 3d. Age. I passe to the 4th.

* Idem.
‡ Lib. iii. de Am. gr. c. 12.
† De C. D. l. xiv. c. 12.
§ Extr. de Trans. Epi. cap. quarto.

CHAP. V.—*That there is Bread and Wine in the Eucharist after consecration, and that they are not deprived of their essence, or properly changed, &c. The Testimonies of the* 4th. *Age.*

In this age I will first produce the Councel of Neocæsarea, consisting of 17 Bishops, which was afterwards confirm'd and received by the first Great Generall Councell of Nice *, consisting of 318 Bishops, *totius orbis lumina* (as Victorinus rightly stileth them), "the lights of the whole world." And the number of those Catholick and learned Fathers that gave their voyces in these two Councels, will help well onwards to the great number of Fathers (the number of 1220) which I am required to bring, as giving testimonie for our doctrine in this particular point of the Eucharist. For when I cite these Councels, I bring no lesse than 335 Fathers together. This then is the voyce of them all, (the confession and acknowledgment of both these Councels, the most ancient, except three, that the Church ever had), *That after consecration there is Bread in the Eucharist.*

Concilium Neocæsarense. Aº. Dñi. 314.
Concilium Nicen. 1. Gen. Aº. Dni. 325.

Conc: Neocæsar: Can: 13. "The priests of the country may not offer in the principall Church of the citty, (when the priests or the bishops of the citty be present,) nor may they give either the Bread in the service of the Church, or the Chalice." Where the symboles are said to be Bread and Wine (or the Chalice) when they are given or distributed, after the Offertory; and that is after consecration.

And the Councel of Ancyra, which was next before that of Neocæsarea, and was likewise confirmed by the same Generall Councel of Nice †, maketh a Canon to the same purpose ‡, and commandeth, "That the Deacons who had sacrificed to idols, should not be admitted to distribute the Bread and the Cup." How many the Bishops were, that met in this Councell, I doe not find recorded; and therfore though I make use of their voyce, yet I doe not so of their number, to augment mine more then with a single testimonie.

Conc. Ancyran. Aº. 314.

Eusebius, the Bishop of Cæsarea Palestina, in his book *De Demonstr: Evang.* (which was written about three yeers after the Councell of Nice,) l. v. c. 3. delivereth the same doctrine which he had receyved and voted

Eusebius Cæsariensis. Aº. 328.

* Caranz. in Summa Concil. & Con. Flor. Sess. vii. Act. 4.
† Ut suprà.
‡ Can. 2.

there. "The sacrificers, or priests, that are derived from Christ, exercising throughout all nations the spirituall sacrificing, or the spirituall function of a priest, according to the lawes of the Church, doe obscurely expresse by the Bread and by the Wine, the mysteries of His Body, and of His Bloud." Againe, lib. i. cap. 10. "Wee have bin taught to celebrate upon the Table the memory of this Holy Sacrifice by the symboles of His Body and of His Bloud." And lib. viii. 1., "By the Wine, which is the symbole of His Bloud," &c. "And Christ, giving to His disciples these symboles of Divine dispensation, hath commanded us to celebrate the image (or figure) of His owne proper Body; which bodie cannot be the figure or image of it selfe*:" nor can the figure be the accidents of Bread and Wine; for Eusebius saith expressely, that it is Bread and Wine it selfe. And in his 3d. Book *De Theolog: Eccles: contra Marcell: Ancyr.*, he bringeth in our Saviour speaking after this manner: "Doe not think that I speak of this Flesh which I beare in my Body, as if that ought to be eaten; and imagine not that I ordaine you to drink My corporall Bloud, but know that the words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life."

Juvencus. Aº. 336.

Juvencus the Priest, in his 4th. book *De Histor: Evangel.* written before the death of Constantine: "Having said these things, He divided the Bread, and gave it to them," (speaking of Christ's Blessed Sacrament); and againe, "*Hoc potate merum*, Drink this Wine, for (believe the words of truth) I will not hereafter tast the liquor of the vine, &c."

St. Athanasius. Aº. 342.

St. Athanasius, the Archbishop of Alexandria, in his *Synopsis*, written not long after that time: "Christ gave the Sacrament, where He said, I will drinke no more of this vine." And in his Sermon upon St. Matthew, "*In illud quicunque dixerit, &c.* our Lord distinguish'd the spirit from the flesh, to the end wee might learne that the things which He spake were not carnall but spirituall. For how many men would His Body have sufficed to eate, which was to be the food of the whole world? But therefore did Hee tell of His Ascension into heaven, that he might draw them from any carnall conception of His words, and that they should understand His Flesh, which He would give them, to be meat from above, a celestiall and spirituall food." Which is an expresse place, as the former place is against transubstantiation, for our doctrine, when wee say, "That Christ's Body is given, taken, and eaten, in the

* Vide pag. [*Blank in MS.*] & Euseb. lib. iii. de Eccl. Theolog. et Max. apud. eundem de præp. l. vii. c. 22.

Blessed Sacrament, after an heavenly and spirituall manner only*".

The Councel of Laodicea, Can. 25. "It shall not be lawfull for a Deacon to distribute the Bread, (or to give the Bread, *Non oportet Diaconum panem dare*,) nor to blesse the Cup." The giving or distribution of the Bread, (as it is here acknowledged so to remayne and be,) was after it had bin consecrated by the Priest. And this Councell had 22 Bishops in it, being no more than a Provinciall Counsell; but it was afterwards confirm'd and received by the Sixt Generall Councell † at Constantinople in Trullo, where 289 Bishops more met together ‡. This testimonie therefore will raise our number to no lesse then 658, for having so great a number to make up as 1220 Fathers, wee had best reckon as wee goe. But, as I said, I doubt not to exceede that number before wee have done.

The Council of Laodicea. Aº. 364.

St. Eustachius, the great Archbishop of Antioch, (whom I should have ranked next to Athanasius, for he lived in his time, and they were both the champions of the orthodox faith against the Arrians,) in his exposition of these words, (*Come, eate of my bread, and drink of my wine which I have mingled.* Prov. ix.) saith expressely, "That by the Bread and the Wine are set forth by Christ the antitypes or contresignes of His corporall Flesh and Bloud." Which being spoken by Him of the eating of the Bread, in the distribution that is made of it to the Communicants, must of necessitie be understood after it was consecrated. And if, after consecration, the Bread and Wine were the antitypes or contresignes of Christ's Body and Bloud, they were not transubstantiated into them, or made the very selfe same thing with them in substance and essence; which nevertheles are by them really (but sacramentally) exhibited.

St. Eustachius. Aº. 346.

St. Ephraim, who lived not long after, in his Tract *De Natur: Div.* "Our Lord took Bread into His hands, and He blest and brake the Bread in type of His immaculate Bodie; and He blest and gave His disciples the Cup, in type of His precious Bloud."

St. Ephraim. Aº. 370.

St. Basil, speaking of the Eucharist after consecration, (Lib. *De Sp. S.* c. 27.) calleth it expressely, "the Bread of the Eucharist." So that in his doctrine It had not lost its essence. And in his Liturgie (for it goeth usually under his name,) no lesse then threescore lines after the words of consecration pronounced over the Bread and the Wine,

St. Basil. Aº. 370.

* Art. of Relig., Art. xxviii. † Dist. xvi. c. *sexta Synodus.*
‡ Binius, ibid.

he calleth them "the types or Antitypes of the Body and Bloud of Christ." Besides, to make it evident that he acknowledged no Transubstantiation to follow upon the words of consecration; after all this, he addeth this prayer, "That God would make this Bread become unto us the glorious and heavenly Body of His Son, for the remission of their sins, and for life eternall to them that received Him:" the Priest beseeching God, "That his owne sinns may not turne away the Holy Ghost from those sacred antitypes, but that receiving with a pure testimony of his conscience this portion of those things which God had sanctified" (or consecrated,) "he might be united to the Holy Body and Bloud of His Son Christ." Which words (conteyning the faith and doctrine of those elder times) cannot possibly consist with the new doctrine of Transubstantiation. For they which mainteyne *this portion* of the things sanctified to be properly converted into the Body of Christ, and to be one and the self same thing with it, so that there is nothing left but the Body of Christ, (there truly, but spiritually present, not corporally,) confounds that Body whereunto wee are to be united, with the meanes and Sacrament whereby this union (in St. Basil's prayer) is to be made. But the Body of Christ, to which we are united, is one thing, and the portion sanctified, by which we are united to It, is another. And it cannot be, that the Body of our Lord, which is the fulnes of all sanctifications, should here be rightly called (as St. Basil calls the Blessed type of it, the consecrated Bread and Wine,*) *a portion* of things sanctified.

St. Macarius. Aº. 380.

St. Macarius, the disciple of St. Antony in Egypt, *Homil.* xvii. "The Kings and Prophets of old knew not that Bread and Wine should be offered in the Church as types of Christ's Flesh and Bloud; and that they who did eate or participate thereof, (of this Bread, which is visible,) should spiritually eate the Flesh of our Lord." This is all after consecration.

St. Cyrill of Jerusalem. Aº. 380.

St. Cyrill, Archbishop of Jerusalem, in his Mystagogicall Catechisme, (for we will take it for granted that this was his book,) speaking of the consecrated Bread in the Eucharist, and of the hallowed chrisme or oyntment in the Sacrament of Baptisme, hath these very words, "As the Bread of the Eucharist, after invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more common or simple Bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy oyntment" (mark me this *so*,) "after it is hallowed, is no more simple or common oyntment, but the chrisme, [*In margine*, χάρισμα,] or gift of Christ, which by his

* *In margine*:—That part of them which the Priest was to receive.

Divine Power, through descent of the Holy Ghost is efficacious; and though the Body be anoynted with oyntment, yet the soule is sanctified with the Holy and life-giving spirit *." Here have wee cleerly what manner of change is made in the Bread by the words of consecration. 1. As the oyntment by being consecrated is not transubstantiate into the Spirit or Chrisme of Christ, but remayning the same oyntment still in substance that it was before, yet being chang'd in condition, virtue and efficacie, is not now bare and simple oyntment, but the gift and grace of Christ; so the Bread of the Eucharist, when it is consecrated, remayning the same Bread in substance that it was before, is not, for all that, called Bread only, or common and bare bread, but is now, (being chang'd and made a Holy Sacrament) the Body of Christ. 2. As the oyntment is not essentially and formally the Grace and Spirit of Christ, but the symbole and type of it; so is the Bread the Body, and the Wine the Bloud of Christ, and yet neither of them properly, essentially, or formally so, but the symbole, type, and sacrament of them. 3. And as the oyntment is no naked signe of grace, but by the Divine power of Christ efficacious, and operative of what it signifieth; so the Bread and the Wine are not bare and naked signes of the Body and Bloud of our Saviour, but efficacious and operative instruments to exhibite and conferre that which they signifie, or wherof they are a Sacrament, even the Blessed Body and Bloud of Christ. Therfore in his 4th. Catech. the same St. Cyrill saith, "That Christ's Body is given thee, under the type of Bread, and His Bloud under the type of Wine." Type is a Greek word, and is not well translated by him that turn'd it here, *sub speciebus panis et vini*, that is, (as now they construe it,) "under the accidents of Bread and Wine," no substance and essence remayning. St. Cyrill call them the types and symboles that were reall. He knew of no accidents that exist without their subject: nor he, nor any of the ancient Fathers †. The places objected against us out of this authour, I shall answere and cleere here after.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, Archbishop of Constantinople, in his 42 Orat. "Wee shall now againe participate typically at the Passeover, or Easter, though more plainly then of old, for the legall Passeover (I dare say it) was a more obscure type of a type." And in his Funeral Oration for his sister Gorgonia, "If her hand had laid up any thing of the antitypes" (or representations) "of Christ's precious Body and Bloud." Whereunto if wee adjoyne another of his sayings, ("The similitude is one thing, and the veritie it

St. Gregory Nazianz. Ao. 380.

* Catech. iii.

† Vide Append.

selfe is another*;" "It cannot be, that any of those things which represent another thing, should be purely and wholy the thing it selfe †,") wee have then his doctrine expresse against Transubstantiation.

Optatus, Bishop of Mileve, in his third Book against Parmenian the Donatist, "The Holy Catholick Church doth not now cease to offer throughout all the world, in faith and charitie, a sacrifice of Bread and Wine."

Optatus. Aº. 380.

St. Gregory Nyssen, Bishop of that place, and brother to St. Basil, in his *Orat: de S. Bapt.* declaring that "the water in Baptisme, after it is hallowed, is so changed," as that now it is "no common water," but "a Divine Lavacre working admirable effects," He explaineth this mutation by three other, wherof that in the Blessed Eucharist is one. 1. "This Holy Altar before which wee stand, is in its owne nature a stone, nothing different from other stones, &c., but after it is consecrated to the service of God, it is a Holy Table, and an immaculate altar, which is not touched by all, but by the priests only, and by them with respect. 2. The Bread also at the first is common bread, but after the mysterie hath consecrated it, it is said to be, and is, the Body of Christ. The mysticall oyle likewise, and the wine, which are of small regard before they be hallowed; after the sanctification of the Spirit, they are every one excellently operative. 3. The Priest, yesterday he was a common man, and as one of the people, but being newly consecrated, he is made a teacher of pietie, a prælate of Holy Mysteries; and being nothing chang'd in his owne body or forme, he is transform'd and made better by a certaine invisible power and grace. And after the same manner is the water chang'd, when being nothing els but water, yet grace from heaven blessing it, it maketh a man a new creature by that regeneration which the mind perceiveth." Here is a cleere place to shew what manner of change was made in the Bread of the Eucharist by the words of consecration: no change of the substance, as not of the altar-stone, nor of a man exalted to the dignitie of priesthood, nor of the water consecrated for Baptisme. There is no Transubstantiation in any of them all.

St. Greg. Nyssen. Aº. 390.

St. Ambrose, Archbishop of Millan, hath the like doctrine and discourse. (He, or the author of that book which goeth under his name, lib. iv. *De Sacram.* cap. 4.) "If there were such power in the word of our Lord Jesus, that those things, which were not, should begin to be; how much more powerfull was it, to make, that those things should be what

St. Ambrose. Aº. 390.

* De fide contra Arrianos. c. iv. † Orat. xxxvii.

they were, and be changed into another thing?" If the Bread and the Wine be what they were, they doe not lose their being, nor are they transubstantiated, or substantially changed, (for then should they not be what they were,) but sacramentally changed, in regard of their mysterious and holy use, being made the blessed instruments of exhibiting and conveying Christ's Flesh and Bloud unto us. Lib. vi. cap. 1, "When thou takest the Bread, thou art by this food made partaker of the Divine Nature of Christ." *Liber de iis qui init: myst.* c. 9. "Before consecration another kind is named; after consecration the Body of Christ is signified." And if the Bread, when it is consecrate, signifie the Body, it cannot be the Body, for nothing is a signe to it selfe. *Ibid.* "The Flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried, was true Flesh; this then is truly the Sacrament of His Flesh." Which is to say, sacramentally, and not properly his Flesh. But what manner of change is made in the Bread, by that Blessing wherby it becomes the Flesh of Christ, is most cleerly set forth by this author, Lib. iv. *De Sacram.* c. 4. "I answere it was not the Body of Christ before consecration, but after consecration I say it is the Body of Christ. He hath said it, and it was done, He hath commanded, and it was created. Thou thyself wert, but thou wert an old creature; after thou wert consecrated," (by the Sacrament of Baptisme,) "thou didst begin to be a new creature." Such as is the change of a man by regeneration, such is the change of the Bread by consecration. And the nature of man in Baptisme, though it be chang'd, yet it is not transubstantiated, nor loseth he his old being by acquiring a new.

There be some objections brought against us out of St. Ambrose, which I shall cleere and answere, when I come to that part of my taske.

I will end this age with the testimonie of,—

The Council of Carthage, in Africk, Can. 24. "That in the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of our Lord, nothing els be offered, then that which our LORD Himself did deliver, that is to say, Bread, and Wine mingled with water." This was the Third Council of Carthage, (whereat Saint Augustine is said to have bin present,) and although it was but a Provincial Council, yet it was afterwards receiv'd * and confirm'd by a General, the Sixt Generall Council of Constantinople †. There were 44 Bishops in it ‡, which we will take into our number, and passe to the next age that followed.

The 3rd Council of Carthage. A°. 397.

* Ut suprà, p. 25. Caran. in Sum. C.

† Can. xxxii.

‡ Binius, in Tit. Conc. Carth. 3.

CHAP. VI. *The same doctrine is confirmed by the testimonies of the Ancient Fathers, who lived in the* 5th. *Age.*

St. Epiphanius. Aº. 403.

St. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, (who died the soonest of all the Fathers that wrote in this Age,) in his 47 Heresie, disputing against them that used nothing but water in the Chalice of the Eucharist, saith, "That their Sacraments are no Sacraments, but falsly so made in imitation of the true; and that they are herein refuted by the direct words of our Saviour*, "*I will drink no more of the fruit of this vine.*" Againe, in his book called *The Ancorate*, speaking of that which Christ gave to His disciples in the Holy Supper: "Wee see that it is neither equall, nor alike, not to the Image Incarnate, not to the Invisible Deitie, not to the figure and lineaments of His Body, but it is round in forme, and insensible in power." This must of necessitie be Bread, consider'd in it self, in substance and accidents; for the Body of Christ is neither round, nor insensible.

St. Chrysostome. Aº. 407.

St. John Chrysostome, the famous Archbishop of Constantinople, in his 82 Homilie upon S. Math. "Then, when Christ gave the mysteries, He gave Wine,—as He saith Himself, of the fruit of the Vine." Of which words special notice was taken in the Sixt Generall Council†, when they copied out the Canon of the Council of Carthage before rehearsed. Againe, in his 46 Homilie upon St. John, speaking of the eating of Christ's Flesh and drinking His Bloud, he saith, "That these things are not to be understood in a carnall and corporall sense, but in a mysticall and spirituall. The words that Christ spake were spirit, they had nothing carnall in them, nor any naturall consequence. If any one shall take them carnally, he shall get nothing by them. And what is it to understand them carnally? to understand them simply as they were spoken, and to have no other thing in mind, &c." And what his doctrine and beliefe was of the consecrated Bread, (that though it were honored with the title of Christ's Body, yet the nature of it still remayn'd,) he declareth most perspicuously in his Epistle to Cæsarius, where these be his owne words: "Before the Bread be consecrated, wee call it Bread; but when Divine Grace hath hallowed it by the ministery of the Priest, it is free from that appellation, and honored with the title of Christ's Body, *the nature of the Bread notwithstanding still remayning.*" This is so cleere a place, that Cardinall Bellarmin‡, and others, know not

* Which were spoken after consecration. St. Matth. xxvi. 29. St. Mark. xiv. 25.

† Can. xxxii.

‡ Lib. ii. de Euch. c. 22.

else what to say to it, but either to deny, or to suspect at least, that St. Chrysostome never wrote any such Epistle: having no other reason for their suspition, but that it was not printed with his works. Yet this is no reason, for as it is well knowne, and as Possevin confesseth *, there be many works of St. Chrysostome, that came not so early to the presse. It was extant in the Library at Florence, and in the Library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when Dr. Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Chancellor of England, was alive, as he affirmeth himself, in his 2d. Book of the Eucharist against Peter Martyr. Besides, wee find this his Epistle cited in the Collections of the Fathers' Sentences against the Severians (translated by Francis Turrian, the Jesuite, and extant both in Henricus Canisius †, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* ‡, seven hundred yeeres since; as likewise in the end of Damascen's book against the Acephalists §, more then eight hundred yeeres agoe. This therfore is a plaine evidence against Transubstantiation, and the desition of Bread, in the Blessed Sacrament. Againe in his 24 Homilie upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "What thing is the Bread? The Body of Christ. And what thing are they made that doe participate therof? The Body of Christ," mystically and sacramentally both the one and the other; for I trust no body will say that the Communicants are transubstantiated into the Flesh of Christ. And in his 23 Homil. *ibid.* "As thou eatest the Body of our Lord, so they of old did eate the manna; and as thou drinkest His Bloud, so they drank of the Rock: for although these thinges were corporall, yet were they spiritually given; not according to the condition of their nature, but according to the grace of the gift; and together with the body they nourish'd also the soule, bringing it to faith." I know well, that there be many emphaticall, yea and hyperbolicall expressions to be found in St. Chrysostome concerning the Holy Eucharist, which had need of a faire and candide interpretation, least they be stretch'd beyond his owne meaning. It was the endeavour of St. Chrysostome and other the ancient Fathers, (as it is ours likewise,) to teach the people that they ought not to fix their thoughts upon the outward symboles of the Sacrament, but that in them they should set their hearts upon the Body and Bloud of Christ, there presented to them. For without this the whole effect and fruit of the Sacrament is lost. And hence it was, that otherwhiles, (the better to imprint these heavenly thoughts in the minds of their auditors,) they spake of the symboles many things which belonged

* Appar. in St. Chrysostom.
‡ Bib. Pat. t. iv. part 2.
† Antiq. Lect. tom. iv.
§ Apud. eundem Hen. Canis. loco cit.

to the Thing it self, that was set forth by them; and used such oratory, that, if it be strictly taken, will never endure the test. As when St. Austin said, "That wee are not only made Christians, but Christ*. And the author *De Cœnâ Domini, inter opera S. Cypr:* "That wee fix our tongues upon the wounds of our Redeemer, sucking His Bloud, and rubricating ourselves with it, both within and without†;" and St. Chrysostome in his Homil. *De Pœnit:* "Doe not consider that this is Bread, doe not think that this is Wine‡:" and in his 83 Homil. upon S. Matth. "In the Eucharist our Lord hath given us nothing that is sensible;" where he explicates himself in the words immediately following, that the sensible things there given, are not given for themselves, but for intelligible things; such as is the Body of our Lord; which being here only intelligible, and not sensible, is set forth unto us under the sensible symbole of Bread, as He Himself ordeyned; the Bread and Wine in themselves being not considerable, nor given us, that we should set our minds upon them, but upon the Body and Bloud of Christ, whereof wee are then to communicate, "Which" (saith he) "wee touch, wee eate, we see, wee drink, and our tongues are imbued with His Bloud§." And in his 3d. Book *De Sacerdotio*, "He giveth Himself to us, that wee may imbrace Him, and take him about the neck; but all that doe this, must doe it by the eyes (and hands) of their faith." Sixtus Senensis is here a good monitor: "The words of them that make sermons and orations to the people are not rigorously to be taken, for they speake many hyperboles. And this shall yee find often in St. Chrysostome||."

Theophilus, the Archbishop and Patriarch of Alexandria, in his 2d. Paschall Epistle, which St. Hierome translated: "The Bread of our Lord, whereby His Body is set forth, and which wee break for the sanctification of our selves; and the Cup, which is placed upon the Table of the Church, are things of themselves without life," (so is not Christ's Body) "and are hallowed by the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost."

Theophilus Alexandrinus. Aº. 412.

St. Hierome upon the 26th. of St. Matthew: "After the typicall Passover was ended, our Lord took bread, which strengtheneth man's heart, and passeth on to the true Sacrament of the Passeover, to the end, that as, in prefiguration, Melchizedec, the High Priest of God, had done by offering Bread and Wine, He also might represent the veritie of His Body and Bloud." And representations of things are not

St. Hierome. Aº. 420.

* Tract. xxi. in S. Joh.
‡ Serm. v. in Encæn.
|| Bibl. Sancta, lib. vi. Annot. 152.
† Suprà citat. in S. Cyp.
§ Ibid.

properly the things themselves. Againe, upon the 66 of Esay, of the wicked (who must needs eate and drink the Body and Bloud of Christ if the Bread and Wine be transubstantiated into them,) he saith, "That they neither eate the Flesh of our Lord, nor drink His Bloud," but that they eate and drunk the Sacrament of His Flesh and Bloud, it was seene and knowne well enough. The like he says of all Hereticks, (upon the 22 of Jerem.) "That they doe not eate or drink the Bloud of our Saviour:" yet they also did both eate and drink the Sacrament. Againe, upon the 14 of St. Mark, "Jesus took Bread, and blessing it, He brake it, transfiguring His Body into Bread." Certainly He did not transubstantiate His Body into Bread, but appointed this Blessed Bread to be a figure and a representation of His Body.

St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo in Africk, Lib. 2. *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. c. 1., and in his 3d. book against Maxim. cap. 22., gives us this rule for Sacraments, St. Augustin. Ao. 430. "That wee are not to regard the things what they are, but the things what they signifie," that is, not to respect their matter, but their signification, and the truth which they represent; not their naturall condition, but their sacred employment, not what they are in themselves, "aliments of refection," (as in another place he calls the symboles of the Eucharist*), but that which they are by grace and consecration, "Sacraments of religion†;" "one thing in their existence, another thing in their signification‡." In regard of which signification he tells us, "that the signes doe often take the names of those things which they signifie§;" "for that the Sacraments should not be Sacraments, if they had not a resemblance with those things wherof they are Sacraments, by reason of which resemblance they frequently have the names of the things themselves‖." In the meane while, "that to take the signes properly for the things themselves, wherof they are signes, is a proper signe of a servile infirmitie¶." So that in Saint Augustine's divinitie, the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, are not properly the Body and Bloud of Christ; though otherwhiles they be so called; and the veritie of His Body and Bloud here may be verified (nay is, and ought so to be,) without any Transubstantiation.

Which transubstantiation cannot consist with his doctrine, cleerly delivered to us. In Psal. 98, explaining Christ's words, he saith, "You shall not eate this Body of Mine which you see,

* S. Aug. contra Faust. l. xx. c. 13. † Id. de Trinit. lib. iii. c. 10.
‡ Contra Maxim. ubi suprà.
§ Serm. xlviii. de verbis Dñi. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 38. Ep. xxiii. & cii.
‖ Id. Ep. xxiii. & advs. Max. l. iii. c. 22.
¶ Id. De Doct. Chr. lib. iii. c. 9.

nor shall you drink this Bloud, which they that crucifie Me shall shed. I have commended unto you a Sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. For though it be needfull to be visibly celebrated, yet is it requisite that it be invisibly understood." Againe, Tract. 26 in S. Joh. "He that dwelleth not in Christ, and Christ in Him, without doubt neither eateth the Body of Christ spiritually, nor drinketh His Bloud, though visibly and carnally he eateth with his teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ." Where there is a cleere distinction betweene the Sacramentall Bread carnally and visibly eaten, and the Body of Christ spiritually and invisibly received; and that some men eate the one, who doe not receive the other. So farre was St. Austin from teaching or believing the new doctrine of Transubstantiation. Lib. xxi. De C. D. c. 25. "Our Saviour declareth what it is to eate His Flesh, and to drink His Bloud, not in a Sacrament only, but truly and indeed." "For hereticks and schismaticks may eate the Sacrament, but the Body of Christ they cannot be said to eate*." In his Sermon *ad Infantes noviter bapt:* "This which you see is Bread and Wine (or the Cup), as also your owne eyes tell you." Serm. 9. *De diversis.* "The Eucharist is our daily bread, but let us receive it so, that wee may not only nourish our bellyes, but feed our soules also." Serm. 83. "By these things our Lord hath recommended His Body and Bloud unto us, which He hath spent for the remission of your sins." And a little after: "He hath by this Bread recommended unto you in some sort the love of unitie. For this Bread, is it made of one graine alone? were they not many graines? Indeed before they came to be Bread they were many and severall graines, but afterwards they came to be joyned together by water, &c., for otherwise they come not to this forme, which we call Bread. So likewise yee, &c." Serm. *ad nov: bapt:* "How is the Bread His Body, and the Cup, or that which is conteyned in the Cup, His Bloud? These things are spoken by a Sacrament." Lib. *contrà Adimant.* c. 12. "Our Saviour made no doubt to say, This is My Body, when He gave the signe therof." In Psal. 3. "Our Lord admitted Judas to the banquet, wherin He recommended and gave to His Apostles the figure or representation of His Body and Bloud." Id. Epist. 23. "As the Sacrament of Christ's Body is His Body *after a certaine manner*, so is the Sacrament of faith, faith it selfe." Tract. 45 in S. Joh. "The faith remayning the same" (in the Old and New Testament both), "the signes have bin changed. There the Rock was Christ, to us that which is set upon the altar is Christ:" neither the one nor the other transubstantiated into

* Ibid.

Him. All which manner of speakings prove invincebly, that St. Austin acknowledged not any other change of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, then such as will consist with their owne essence and being, by a mutation of use, vertue, and title, which they had not before they were consecrated, and assum'd to this religious imployment*. But Transubstantiation he knew none; unlesse we will say, That the Rock (losing its owne substance and essence) was transubstantiated into Christ, or Christ's Body (ceasing to be it selfe) is properly converted into ours: which is neither St. Austin's beliefe, nor ours; nor any man's els besides.

Palladius, the Bishop of Helenopolis, in His Dialogue which he wrote of St. Chrysostome's Life, chap. 11., "Having communicated of the symboles of our Lord, he made his last prayer." And chap. 7. "Theophilus persecuting the monks, burned their cells, their books, one of their servants, and the symboles of the Holy Mysteries." But had they been transubstantiate into Christ's Body, it had bin no lesse then blasphemie to say, that His Body was burnt.

Palladius. Aº. 418. This Author should follow in order next Theophilus Alexandr.

St. Cyrill, Archbishop of Alexandria, one of the Patriarchs, in his 4th Book upon St. John, cap. 14. "Christ gave unto His disciples the morcels of Bread, saying, Take, eate, &c." And in his Epistle to Cœlosyrius. "That wee should not have horror of flesh and bloud to be brought unto the Holy Altars, God condescending to our infirmitie hath instilled the virtue of life into the things that are offered, converting them into the efficacie of his owne Flesh," that is, making them efficacious instruments (not bare and naked signes) to convey the same unto us. *Idem.* L. 3. *in S. Joh.* c. 29. "Nothing is a character or representation of it self. The type is one thing, and the prototype is another." And wheras they that of late hold a proper conversion of the Bread into the Body of Christ, hold also that Christ tooke his owne Body into his owne hands, and communicated Himselfe; St. Cyrill saith expressely. l. 9. 40., "No thing can participate of it selfe; for if they be properly both the same thing, that which doth participate, and that which is participated, what need is there of any participation?"

St. Cyrill of Alexand. Aº. 440.

St. Denis, called the Areopagite, (who most probably wrote about the middle of this age,) in his Eccl: Hierarchie, cap. 3. calleth "the Bread and Wine the venerable symboles, by the which Jesus Christ is signified and taken. After the representations, let us come in order to the Divine

St. Denis. Aº. 450.

* Id. de Trinit. l. iii. c. 10.

veritie of the archetypes." With him the veritie of Christ's Body and Bloud could be preserved, and the symboles remaine, without any transubstantiation.

Arnobius. A°. 460.

Arnobius the younger, who wrote a Commentarie upon the Psalmes, in Psal. 4 speaking of the Sacraments in the Church: "Wee have received Bread for the Body; Wine for the Bloud; and oyle for the Chrisme;" and in Psal. 103., "Wee receive Bread which strengtheneth our heart, and wee receive Wine which rejoyceth our heart, and after wee have received these two, our faces are made gladsome with the oyle of Chrisme."

Hilarie, ye. Bp. of Poitiers. A°. 370. To be reckoned next S. Basil.

Hilarie, the Bishop of Poitiers, *De Trinit.* cited by Gratian, *De Consecr.* dist. ii. c. 27. "That which is received from the Altar, while it is seene outwardly, (Bread and Wine) is a figure, for in that veritie consisteth the figure. But the veritie it self of the Body and Bloud of our Lord is inwardly and truly believed, as being the signification of that figure."

Prosper. A°. 465.

Prosper, one of St. Augustine's schollers, in Sent. 339, transcribing his words upon St. John, *Tract.* 26. "He eateth the meat of life, and drinketh the Cup of Eternitie, who dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him. For he that is not at accord with Christ, neither eateth His Flesh, nor drinketh His Bloud; although he taketh daily the Sacrament of so great a thing." The Sacrament, therefore, and the thing itself, are not the same in his doctrine, no more then they were before in St. Austin's. Againe, as he is cited by Gratian, *De Cons.* dist. ii. cap. *Hoc est.*, speaking of the Sacrament, he saith, "That it consisteth of two things, the visible species or kind of the elements, and the invisible Flesh and Bloud of our Lord; as the Person of Christ doth consist of two Natures." In Christ there be two Natures or substances, the Divine, and the humane; in the Sacrament likewise there are two substances, the outward Element, and the inward Body and Bloud of Christ. For by the *species* here, he doth not understand the *accidents*, or the outward *forme*, but the very essence of the elements, as man and beast are said to be the species or severall kinds of living creatures: in such manner as the Fathers often use that word, who never knew of any *species*, that are *accidents* without their substance. And againe*, "As the Bread of Heaven," (so he calleth the Sacrament, or the consecrated Bread, as the glosse there rightly noteth) "after its owne manner, is called the Body of Christ, when as indeed it is the Sacrament of Christ's Body, so is the Sacrament of

* Ibid. loco cit.

Faith" (he understands Baptisme) "Faith it selfe." What can be more clearly said? The Sacrament of Bread is after its owne manner, that is, *sacramentally*, the Body of Christ, but it is no more the Body of Christ it selfe, or no more transubstantiated into it, then Baptisme is into Faith. Therfore the Glosse there addeth, "This heavenly Sacrament, which doth truly represent the Flesh of Christ, is called the Body of Christ, but *improperly*. It is said to be so *suo modo*, after its *owne manner*, not in the very truth of the thing, but *in a significant Mysterie*, so that the sense is, It is called the Body of Christ, that is, the Body of Christ is signified by it." And a little after, "He declareth, that the Heavenly Sacrament, which is upon the Altar, is improperly called the Body of Christ, as Baptisme is improperly called Faith."

Hesychius, a priest of Jerusalem, in his Commentary upon Leviticus, cap. 8. saith, That in the time wherein he lived, "*they used to burne the remainder of the Bread*," which had bin distributed in the Holy Sacrament. Certainly they of Jerusalem did not believe it lawfull, or possible either, to burne the Body of Christ, which is now impassible, or to burne Accidents, which are therfore incombustible because they be Accidents.

Hesychius. Aº. 470.

Faustus, the Bishop of Regier, in his 5 *Serm. de Pasch*: "To the end that it may not seeme strange and impossible to thee, that these earthly things should be changed into the substance of Christ, ask thyselfe, who art regenerated or borne anew in Christ, &c., being changed into the Body of the Church, and, by an hidden puritie, of a child of perdition made the adopted child of God." And yet the regenerate man loseth not his owne being or essence; but such as is the one change such is the other also, sacramentall and mysterious both, and neither of them proper.

Faustus, Bp. of Regium. Aº. 470.

To explaine which doctrine of the ancient Church, the more fully and cleerely, I will produce the testimonies of Theodoret and Gelasius, which doe inevitably overthrow the present doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyre, in his first Dialogue against the Eutychians, "Christ hath honored the symboles and the visible signes" (that is, the Bread and the Wine wherof he had spoken before) "with the appellation or name of His Body and Bloud, *not changing the nature*," (of them) "*but adding grace to nature.*" And in the 3ᵈ. Dialogue, "The mysticall signes, after they be consecrated, doe not recede from their own proper *nature*, for *they remaine in their former essence* (*or substance*) *and in their former figure and forme*, [*In margine*,

B. Theodoret. Aº. 470.

or kind] and may be seene and handled, *as they were before.* But the mind conceiveth them to be what they are made and believed, and they are honored* as being that which they are believed, &c. So the Body of Christ (which He now hath) hath the former shape, figure, circumscription, and (to speak summarily) the former essence, or substance, of His Bodie, although now, after the Resurrection, It is made immortall, and free from all corruption, or infirmitie." Againe, in his first Dialogue: "Our Saviour made an exchange of the names, and gave that name to His Body which belonged to the symbole, (*I am the Vine*) and that name to the symbole which belonged to His Body; and He called that Bloud, which was a symbole of His Bloud;" giving also a reason why our Saviour did so: "For He would have those who are partakers of these Divine Mysteries not to attend the nature of those things that are seene, but that mutation of them which is made by Grace."

It is so cleere a place this against Transubstantiation, (where he saith, "The symboles of Bread and Wine after they be consecrated doe not recede from their proper nature,") that some of those men who now mainteyne the contrary, are forced either to slight and lessen the autority of this Catholick and learned father†," alledging, that he was noted for certaine errors in the Councel of Ephesus; of which they know well enough he was afterwards acquitted, and that having detested the heresie of Nestorius, he wrote these his Dialogues against Eutyches, with great applause and approbation of the Catholick Church; wherein (as they cannot deny it) he mainteineth the elements of the Eucharist to remayne in their owne former substance; or els they seeke to evade this autoritie by answering, that the nature and substance, (here asserted by Theodoret to abide still, and not to be essentially changed) is to be understood of the nature and *substance of the Accidents* ‡; which being a solæcisme, that other men call *contradictio in adjecto,* wilbe able to answere it selfe: though it be cleere in Theodoret, that he speaks of those symboles which be consecrated; and I trust wee doe not consecrate Accidents only; for then the substance of the Bread and Wine must be gone before consecration, which wilbe a doctrine more new and strange then Transubstantiation it selfe.

* *In margine:*—προσκυνεῖται is to be taken here in that sense, and cannot be in the other of Divine adoring. For the symboles so abiding in their owne nature, no divine adoration may be given them. Reverence, or veneration and honor, may, as to Sacred Mysteries. And wee (by the grace of God) hold the Sacrament to be venerable, and with all due respect and honor to be used and received.

† Greg. Valent. lib ii. de Transub. c. 7.

‡ Card. Bell. l. ii. de Euch. c. 27, § *sed nec.*

Gelasius, the Bishop and Pope of Rome, in his book of the two Natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorius, for Gennadius* and Anastasius† make him to be the author of that book, and though Baronius‡, Bellarmin §, and Binius || (being troubled with his autoritie) would have him to be no Pope of Rome, but another Gelasius, of Cizick, that wrote the Acts of the Councel of Nice, (who, if he were no other, is an author of receiv'd and incorrupt autoritie, and more ancient likewise then the Pope) yet because he is not only cited by Fulgentius, an African Bishop, and by Pope John, the 2d. of that name, but set forth likewise in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*¶, (which was amended according to the prescript of the *Index Expurgatorius*) under the name of Gelasius** Bishop of Rome, we will by their good leave, take him for the right author of this booke. And thus he writes, (as cleerely against Transubstantiation as Theodoret had done before) "Truly it is a Divine matter, the Sacraments, that wee receive of the Body and Bloud of Christ, by which we are made partakers of the Divine Nature, *and yet the Substance or Nature of the Bread and Wine doth not cease to be.* And truly we celebrate this mysticall action in the image and similitude of the Body and Bloud of Christ. It is therefore evident, that wee ought to understand the same of our Lord Jesus Christ, which wee celebrate and professe in his similitude, That as by the power of the Holy Spirit *they* passe into this Divine Substance, and *yet remaine in the propriety of their nature,* so the principall Mysterie it selfe," (Christ our Lord) "whose virtue and efficacie is truly represented, is one, whole, and true Christ, consisting of those two natures, which doe truly and properly remaine in Him."

Gelasius the Pope. Ao. 496.

So that this was the faith and profession of the ancient Catholike Fathers. That the Sacrament consisted of an heavenly and a terrene part, (they be St. Irenæus' owne words, cited before) an union of the signe and the thing signified, word and element so united together, as are the two natures of Christ. And from this sacramentall union doe the Fathers take their resemblance, to illustrate by it the personall union of those two Natures in Him: (I have produced Theodoret for the Greek Church, and Gelasius for the Latin, who both insist upon it, and presse it against Eutyches the heretick) declaring the Catholick doctrine to be, That even as in the Eucharist neither part (neither Bread and Wine, the earthly part, nor the Body and Bloud of Christ, the

* De Scriptor Eccl. † In vitâ Gelasii Papæ. ‡ Ao. 496. n. 2.
§ Ubi suprà. || In notis ad vitam Gelas. ¶ Tom. iv. Paris.
** *In margine*:—And so acknowledg'd both by Alph. à Castro, lib. iv, verbo *Xp̃us*; and by Pap. Massonus, in vitâ Gelasii P.

heavenly part) is evacuate, or turned one into the other, but abide still each in his owne substance and being that it had before; no more is either of Christ's Natures annihilated, or one of them converted into the other, (as Eutyches held) but each Nature remaineth still full and whole in his owne kind. And backwards. As the two Natures in Christ, so the signe, (Bread and Wine) and the thing signified in the Sacrament, (the Body and Bloud of Christ) are neither of them annulled, or transubstantiated one into another.

Against the strength of these testimonies I know the same answere is brought, and the same evasion made by Cardinal Baronius to elude the autority of Gelasius, which was brought before by Cardinal Bellarmine, to avoyd the autority of Theodoret. "Marvaile not," (saith Baronius*) "if Gelasius said, That the Substance of Bread remaineth in the Eucharist, for he understood the word *substance* of the *Accidents of Bread.*" Which evasion (as unreasonable as it is) is layd hold of by him also who set out the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, where he turnes us to the margin, and bids us understand the words of Gelasius in this manner, "That the Substance of the Bread and Wine, is not the Substance, but the Accidents †." He might as well, and with as good reason, have told us, that when Gelasius speaks of the Orthodox, he is to be understood of the Hereticks. For this is such a new devise, that by Substance should be meant no Substance, but the Substance of Accidents, (which is nothing) that neither Gelasius nor any Father of them all ever heard of it. And if Eutyches might but have gotten that advantage of them, he would have ask'd no more: it wold have made mainly for his heresie against the Catholick doctrine and truth which they mainteyned.

I will conclude this Age with his saying, (and he was a profess'd Roman Catholick) that wrote the *Examen pacifique*, chap. i, where acknowledging that wee hold our Saviour to be truly present in the Holy Sacrament, and that we doe eate His Body and drink His Bloud, our difference from them of his owne partie laying only in the manner, how He is present, and how wee eate and drinke Him, (which manner, holding us to the veritie of the thing it selfe, with the ancient Fathers, wee are neither able to define, nor curious to search out) the same author addeth, "That hence it is manifest, that it is but our ill luck to live in such a rigorous age of the Church ‡ as now wee doe: otherwise wee should never have bin called heretickes for this matter. For divers of the ancient Fathers were infected with the same errour; Theodoret, yea and Gelasius too, who was also Pope, have written

* A°. 496, n. 14. † Bibl. Pp. Tom. iv. ad verba Gelasii.
‡ *In margine*:—That is, in his sense, the Roman Church.

in expresse words, That even after the consecration of these Holy Mysteries, *the very nature and substance of Bread remained still.* True it is, they that revive this error may well be shent for it, when they see that the Church of Rome, and which is more, that the Pope* himself in these latter dayes hath condemned it. Neverthelesse, seing that Gelasius, who was likewise a Pope, held the very same error, the Roman Catholicks should doe well to qualifie it all they could, for the reputation of the Sea Apostolick."

Chap. VII. *The testimonies of the Fathers in the Sixt Age.*

Victor of Antioch, in his Commentary upon the 14 of St. Mark. "When Christ said to His Apostles, This is My Body, and this is My Bloud, he would have them hold for certaine, that after the benediction and giving of thanks over the Bread and Cup proposed before them, they were made partakers of His Body, by the Symbole of Bread, and of His Bloud, by the Chalice." Victor Antiochens. Aº. 500.

Johannes Maxentius, an Orientall Monk, in his 2d. Dialogue against the Nestorians. "That Bread which the Universall Church taketh in remembrance of Christ's Passion, is the Bodie of Christ." Joh. Maxentius. Aº. 520.

Fulgentius, a Bishop of the African Church, and a follower of St. Austin's doctrine, in his book *De Fide, ad Petr. Diac.* chap. 16. "The Holy Catholick Church ceaseth not to offer throughout all the world in faith and charitie a sacrifice of Bread and Wine." And in his Epistle to Ferrand he calleth the participation of the Eucharist "the Communion of the Bread and the Cup." And in his 2d. Book *ad Monimum*, c. 11. he calleth the Eucharist it selfe, "the Sacrament of the Bread and the Cuppe." Fulgentius. Aº. 526.

In the Councel of Orleans there were six and twentie Bishops, who made this Canon, Can. 4. "That none should presume to offer in the Oblation of the consecrated Chalice, any thing els, but the fruit of the vine mingled with water." Which was againe repeated in the Councell of Auxerre by two and fortie Fathers that met there together. Counc. of Orleans. Aº. 540.

Facundus, an African Bishop, in his defence of Theodore and Theodoret, lib. 9. "The Sacrament of Christ's Body and of His Bloud, which is in the consecrated Bread and Chalice, wee call it His Bodie and His Bloud." And, "Our Lord Himselfe called the Bread and the Cup, which Facundus. Aº. 550.

* *In margine* :—He meanes Innocent the 3rd.

He had blessed and given to His disciples, His Body, and His Bloud."

Cassiodore, the Roman Senator and Consul, in his exposition upon the 109 Psal. "The King of Righteousnes hath by a mysticall similitude instituted the order of Melchisedec, when he offered unto God the fruits of bread and wine."

Cassiodore. A°. 550.

In the 2d. Councell of Mascon, Can. 6. the Church of France ordeyned, "That the custome of giving the remaynder of the consecrated Eucharist to young children, should be observed." Which, had it bin then held to be transubstantiated into Christ's Body*, might never have bin suffered, for the very reverence they would certainly have borne to the Flesh of our Saviour. There were in this Councell 62 Bishops.

Conc. Matiscon. A°. 588.

Gregorie, the Bishop of Towers, in his book *De Gloriâ Martyrum*, lib. i. c. 10. affirmeth "the same to have bin the custome, which the Clergy of Constantinople used in that Church also." To whose testimony I may adde the attestation of Evagrius, lib. iv. c. 35. and Nicephorus Callistus, lib. xvii. c. 25. They say the remaynes were given to be eaten by the little children at schoole. And it is not credible that these Churches were so unmindfull of St. Paul's exhortation, 1 Cor. xi., as to expose the Body of our Lord to the indiscretion and infirmities of an ignorant age, who could not discerne or judge of it.

Greg. Turon. A°. 590.

Chap. VIII. *The attestation of the Fathers in the Seventh Age.*

Theophylact Simocatte, in the 4th. book of his History, cap. ult. "The Bishop, when he had offered the Bread and the Wine, sanctified the assembly by the participation of His Mysteries Who is God and Man."

Theoph. Simoc. A°. 620.

The 4th. Councel of Toledo, wherein 52 Bishops were assembled, Can. 17. "After the Lord's Prayer, and the conjunction of the Bread and the Chalice, followeth the blessing over the people, and then only the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Christ is to be received."

4th Counc. of Tol. A°. 638.

Isidore, the Bishop of Sivil, in 14 Gen. "Wee offer in sacrifice the oblation of bread and wine." And in his 1 book of Ecclesiasticall Offices, chap. 18. "These two things (the Bread and the Wine) are visible, and yet, being

Isidore Hisp. A°. 636.

* *In margine:* — (And so remaining after the Communion was ended.)

sanctified by the Holy Ghost, they become the Sacrament of Christ's Divine Body." Ibid. "But the Bread, because it strengtheneth the bodie, is for that reason called the Body of Christ, and the Wine, because it maketh bloud in the flesh, hath therefore a relation to the Bloud of Christ." Which is the very same Catholick doctrine with ours, That the Bread and Wine are sacramentally the Body and Bloud of our Saviour. Againe, in the 6 Book of his Etymologies, chap. 19. "But the Bread and the Wine are compared to the Bodie and Bloud of our Lord, for this reason, that as the substance of this visible bread and wine doth nourish and inebriate the outward man; so the Word of God, which is the Living Bread by the participation of Faith, doth recreate the soules of the believers." Which words, though they be now left out of the printed copies, (let any guesse why) yet are they preserved to us in the citation that Bertram made of them in his Booke *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.*

Maximus, the Martyr of Constantinople, in his notes upon Dion. Areop. at those words, ("the venerable symboles by which Christ is signified and taken") saith, "That a symbole is a sensible thing taken for a thing intelligible, as the Bread and the Wine for an immateriall nourishment." Againe: "The Symboles are not the veritie it selfe." Which certainly they must needs have bin, if they had bin transubstantiated into the veritie. Nor is Maximus alone of this mind. Tertullian, *De Resurr.* c. 30. Methodius *apud Photium.* cod. 234. Epiph. hær. 73. Chrysost. Hom. 17 *ad Heb.* Gaudentius, tr. 2. *in Exod.* and others cited before, are expressely of the same, "That the type and symbole is but an imitation or representation of the thing signified, and not the thing itself." Maximus Martyr. Aº. 660.

The Councel of Braga in Spaine, Can. 2. "Wee have heard that some men, being carried away with a schismaticall ambition, doe consecrate milke instead of wine in the Holy Sacrifices, against the Divine and Apostolicall Institutions; and that others give to the people for a perfect communion the Eucharist (of Bread) dip'd and temper'd or moistned only; and that some also offer not in the Sacrament of our Lord's Chalice the wine that is pressed out of the grapes, but communicate the people with the grapes themselves only." (Where, mark me, that this Councel speaketh not only of that which is set upon the Altar, but of that also that is given in the communion of the people.) "Which how contrary it is both to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, and likewise to the custome of the Church, it is not hard to prove from the Fountaine of Truth it self, from which the Mysteries of this Sacrament did proceed, and Conc. Bracar. Aº. 675.

were ordeyned by Him. For the Evangelicall Veritie saith, Jesus took Bread and the Cup, and blessing them, gave them to His disciples. Let not therfore milk be offered, for that the manifest example of the Truth is against it, which permitteth not any thing els to be offered but Bread and Wine. And whereas they give to the people, for a compleat Communion, the Eucharist (of Bread) dipped and moystned, neither will this be suffered by the testimonie produced out of the Gospel, where Christ recommended His Body and Bloud to His Apostles. For the recommendation of the Bread is mentioned *apart*, and that of the Cup *apart* *. For wee doe not read that Christ gave any sop or bread dipped to his other disciples, but only to that disciple whom the sop should therby discover to be a traytour to his Master; not that hereby he set forth any institution of this Sacrament. As for that custome, that the people are communicated with grapes unpressed, and not with wine; this is altogether out of order. For the Cup of our Lord ought to be mixt with wine and water, the people being signified by the one, and the Bloud of Christ by the other. When, therfore, in the Cup the Wine is mixed with water, the people are united to Christ, and the multitude of believers are coupled and joyned to Him in Whom they believe." The Fathers and Bishops that subscribed to this Councel for the Province of Gallicia, (wherof he that set forth the Spanish Councels giveth us but eight) had they believed any Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine, would never have given us this Canon.

Conc. Tolet. 16. A°.693.

The 16th. Councel of Toledo, (wherin 59 Bishops were assembled) Can. 6. "It hath bin brought to the knowledge of this Councell that, in divers parts of Spaine, certaine of the priests (rash and ignorant men) doe not offer in sacrifice upon the Lord's Table cleane bread, and prepared for that purpose, but at randome, (according as necessitie, or their owne pleasure leadeth them) they take round crusts of bread prepared for their owne use which they offer upon the Altar together with wine and water for the holy oblation." Against which custome having alledged the texts of St. Matthew, S. Mark, S. Luke, and St. Paul, the Councel adjoyneth, "Finally what els is hereby declared, but that Christ tooke an entire loaf of bread, and breaking it after He had blessed it, that He gave it to His disciples by parcels, teaching us that wee should doe the like after Him, &c." The Bread, which was consecrate, was entire, the Bread which was given after consecration was broken into parcels, as the Bodie of our Lord cannot be.

* *In margine*:—Note that Christ gave the Bread apart, and the Wine apart.

CHAP. IX. *The testimonies of the Fathers of the Eigth Age.*

Germanus the Patriarch of Constantinople, in his Theorie of Ecclesiasticall matters, *in fine*. "The gifts proposed are the anti-types or figures of spirituall graces. And, a part of the oblation is broken as bread, but is distributed, as a participation of an ineffable blessing, to those that doe receive it with faith." Germanus Patriarc. Aº. 730.

Venerable Bede, a priest of the English Church, (whose Commentaries and Sermons were publickly read to the people, and received in that country for Catholick doctrine) in his Commentary upon the 22 of St. Luke. "In stead of the flesh and bloud of a lamb, our Lord hath substituted the Sacrament of His Body and Bloud in the figure or similitude of Bread and Wine." And upon the 3d. Psalme. "Christ in the Supper gave to His disciples the figure of His Blessed Bodie and Bloud." And the figure is not properly the thing itself, though the thing it self was given with it.

In the Councel of Constantinople assembled about the midst of this Centurie, there were no fewer then 338 bishops*, who (besides the condemnation of worshipping images, with which I will not now meddle) speaking of the Eucharist, did unanimously with one voyce deliver it for orthodoxe and Catholick doctrine, as they had received it from all antiquitie, "That the Bread being consecrated, without losing the nature and essence of bread, became the Bodie of our Lord by that mysticall sanctification whereby it was transferr'd from the condition of common and vulgar bread, to be a holy and heavenlie Sacrament, and made the Image, the Type, and the Memoriall of Christ's naturall Bodie, which it did represent." The words of the Fathers in this Councel are, "That they reverence and offer for the salvation of their soules and bodies the true Image or representation of Christ, which He Himself consecrated, and gave to His servants at the time of His Passion in a most evident type and commemoration or remembrance thereof. For being upon the point to deliver up Himself voluntarily to His venerable and life-giving death, after He had taken bread, He blessed it, and giving thankes He brake it, and giving it He said, Take eate for the remission of sins, This is My Bodie: likewise giving the Cup He said, This is My Bloud, doe this in remembrance of Me; choosing no other thing or type under heaven whereby to pourtrait and set forth His Incarnation. See here the precious and the honorable image of His living Bodie. Conc. Constantinople. Aº. 754.

* It is called a Generall Councell both by Binius and by Bellarm. l. i. *de Conc.* c. 6.

For what did the God of all Wisedome intend to doe by this thing? No other then to shew to us men the mysterie of His dispensation. For as that which He tooke of us was the only matter of our human essence perfect altogether, but not denoting any person of ours subsisting by it selfe, least any adjunction of a person should be thought to come into the deitie; so hath He ordeyned a chosen matter for His representation, that is to say, the essence or substance of bread, and not the forme or figure of a man, least any idolatry should follow upon it. As then the naturall Body of Christ is holy, being assumed into the Deitie, so is it cleere that the representation thereof is holy, being deified (or consecrated to God) by a certaine mysticall sanctification. For as Christ hath deified the flesh which He tooke and united to Him by His owne proper and naturall sanctification, so hath it bin His pleasure, that by the ministry of the priest, who maketh the offertorie, and transposeth that which is common to that which is holy, the Bread of the Eucharist, (as a true Image or representation of His naturall Flesh, sanctified by the accession of His Holy Spirit) should become His Divine Body." In which words though they confesse (as wee do) the reall presence of Christ together with the reall essence or substance of the Bread and Wine, yet they denie Transubstantiation in the Sacrament no lesse then S. Athanasius denied it in the Incarnation, That the Word was made Flesh, "not by conversion of the Godhead into man, but by taking of the manhood into God," as he expresseth the mysterie in his Symbole received by the Church: which, applyed to the Eucharist, That the Bread and Wine are made the Body and Bloud of Christ not by conversion of their essence, or ceasing substantially to be what they were before, but by change and advancement of their common condition, in ceasing to be bare bread and wine, and becomming Divine and sacred mysteries of His Body and Bloud, is the Summarie of that decree and doctrine of the 338 Fathers set forth in this Councell. Against which, though some exceptions be taken as to other matters, (which we will not now dispute) yet in this particular they that have oppos'd it have brought no such reasons against it, but may with great facility be answered; as wee shall see here after when wee come to answere the objection (amongst others) produced out of Damascen by our author of *Transubstantiation Mainteyned.*

Damascen. Aº. 760.

But Damascen shall here first speak for himself, whose opinion can no way subsist with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, for he maketh an union of the Bread (remayning still in its owne naturall essence and substance) with the deitie of Christ, by reason of which unitie, it becommeth Divine Bread, and is made the Body of Christ, by assumption

and inhabitation of His Spirit. For, (saith he) "As God hath joyned the Grace of His Holy Spirit to the Water and the Oyle, and made it the laver of regeneration; in the same manner, because men were accustomed to eate bread, and to drink water and wine, He hath joyned His Deitie unto them, and made them His Body and His Bloud, to the end that by these accustomed and naturall things, wee might be put into possession of those things which are above nature. This is the Body truly united to the Deitie, this is the Body borne of the Blessed Virgin, not because the same Body which ascended up on high cometh downe from heaven, but because the same bread and wine are transmuted into the Body and Bloud of God: but if any will inquire into the manner how this is done, let it suffice him to know, that it is done by the Spirit, as our Lord also tooke upon Him, and into His Person, the flesh of the Holy Mother of God by the Holy Spirit." And as that was "not by conversion of the Godhead into the flesh" of the Blessed Virgin, so neither is this by the conversion of the Bread into the Flesh of Christ, but by being mysteriously united to his Bodie. Enough to make it manifest, that Damascene, though he was for Transmutation in this Sacrament of the Eucharist, (as we also are, if it be rightly understood, wherof more is to be said anon) yet for Transubstantiation, or the Transmutation of one Substance into another, he was not. And with him wee will conclude this centurie of yeeres, for now the writers began to be few.

Chap. X. *The testimonies of the Writers in the Ninth Age.*

Alcuin of York, first Abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, and after of Towers and other places in France, taught the Emperor Charlemaine, in his Epistle that he wrote unto him, thus to speake, (*Ep. Car: ad Alcuin: de Rat: Septuag.*) "Christ being at Supper with His Disciples brake bread and likewise gave the Cup in figure of His Body and His Bloud." So that in France and England this was then the current Catholick doctrine, agreeable to the expressions of the Fathers both Greeke and Latin in former ages. And the same Charlemaine, in his Book *De Imag:* denying the Eucharist (and rightly denying it) to be any shadow, image, or prefiguration of things to come, such as the legall types and shadows were, and in that respect affirming it to be the Body and the Truth, yet he never termes it other then that It is the Body and the Truth in a Sacrament, always adding that word to it. And a Sacrament is a sacred signe, which cannot be confounded with the thing thereby signified, (as being the very same and no other

Alcuin of England, Ao. 804, and Charlemain of France.

thing) "without fleshly or carnall thoughts," as St. Austin said in his Book *De Doctr: Christ.* l. iii. c. 5.

Walafride Strabo in his Book *De Reb: Eccl.* c. 16. "Our Lord gave to His disciples the Sacrament of His Bodie and Bloud *in the Substance of Bread and Wine,* and in that Substance taught us to celebrate the remembrance of His Most Holy Passion."

Walafr. Strabo. Aº. 840.

About this time lived Paschasius Radbertus, the Abbot of Corbey in France, an author greatly commended both by Cardinal Bellarmin, Cardinal Perron, and others, as being the first man who wrote seriouslie and amply of this matter concerning the reall Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. And truly, though in his Booke *De Verit: Corp: & Sang: Christi,* he hath divers propositions which are new and unusuall, (being never heard of in the Church before his time) and wherof they who now mainteyne the doctrine of Transubstantiation are wont to make great use, yet I cannot see how many of his other propositions and discourses in that Booke can possibly consist with any such doctrine. For thus he writes, "That our High Priest hath offered the same things that Melchisedec did, and those things were Bread and Wine." cap. 10. "That in the Eucharist the Symboles are made the Bodie and Bloud of Christ, after the same sort as in Baptisme men are made new creatures and the Body of Christ." c. 15. "That as oft as wee drink of the Cup and eate of the Bread, wee ought not to thinke that wee drink any other bloud but His that was shed for the remission of sins. That there is no miracle in the Eucharist, (signes and miracles being wrought for them that believe not) but that these things are given to them that believe already; and that this is the reason why these things are *not changed,*" (that is, from their naturall substance) "and yet believers make not the least doubt of them but that they are made the Body and Bloud of Christ." In all which passages, (and others that might be alledged) it is evident that according to Paschasius his beliefe, there was Bread and Wine remayning in the Sacrament. The truth is, that his opinion was, that Christ *assumed* them in the Eucharist, and *united* them to His Flesh, which makes for the doctrine of Consubstantiation, defended by some of the Lutherans, but for the doctrine of Transubstantiation it makes never a whit.

Paschasius. Aº. 835.

Haymo, the Bishop of Halberstat, and Remigius Altisiodorensis lived in this Age, who (in 1 Cor. 10. and *in Can: Mis.*) say likewise, "That at the same time when the priest maketh the oblation in his prayer, the heavens are opened, and his offring is carried up by the ministry of the angels to the Altar on high, that is, to Christ

Haymo. Aº. 850. Remig. Altisiod. Aº. 890.

Himselfe, who is both the Priest and the Oblation; and that by the touching of Him it becomes one Bodie with Him." Words that doe necessarily inferre an union betweene those things that are distributed in the Eucharist and the Body of Christ; but doe, as necessarily alsoe, exclude an identity of them with the same Bodie, (which the doctrine of Transubstantiation supposeth) for that it is impossible that one and the same numericall Bodie should be carryed to touch it selfe.

Bertram. Aº. 860.

The doctrine that Bertram (a priest of the Monastery of Corbey, and afterwards Abbot of Orbais in France) profess'd to be the Catholick and orthodoxe doctrine in his time, as it had bin set forth by the Fathers in former ages, is to be seene in the booke which he wrote at the commandement of the Emperour, Charles the Bald, and inscribed the same to him, *De Corp: & Sang: Dñi*, wherin he is so cleere, and so contrary to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, that some men who have bin zealous to mainteyne that opinion have bin content to please themselves with a vaine imagination that the Book was not written by Bertram, but by Œcolampadius. Indeed Cardinal Bellarmin and others are not well pleas'd with him, and are very loth to allow him a name among the Catholick writers, yet, by their good leave, he is highly commended for a very learned and Catholick author by Trithemius in his Catalogue, and Claudius de Sainctes, the Bishop of Eureux is content to call him a Saint. Howsoever, he was in deere and venerable estimation with the Emperour, to whom he writeth in this manner, and in these very words. "It is evident that the Bread and the Wine are figuratively the Body and the Bloud of Christ." Againe, "For as much as concerneth *the Substance* of these creatures, they remaine after consecration the same which they were before." Againe, "The change being spiritually and not corporally made, of necessitie it must be said to be made figuratively, for that under the vaile of corporeall bread and corporeall wine, the spirituall Body, and the spirituall Bloud of Christ doth exist." Againe, "According to what they are seene, they nourish the corruptible body, being themselves things corruptible; but according to what they are believed, they nourish the soule immortallie, being themselves immortall things." Nor doth he assert only, but firmely proveth what he saith, both out of Scriptures and Fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Austin, Fulgentius, Isidore, and others, concluding his Book after this sort:—"Your wisedome (most illustrious Prince) may be pleased to observe, that by the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and by the Sentences of the Holy Fathers, it hath bin most evidentlie demonstrated, that the Bread which is called the Body, and the Cup which is called the Bloud,

of Christ, is a figure, because it is a mysterie; and that there is no little difference betweene a bodie that existeth by a mysterie, and a bodie that was crucified, and buried, and rose againe from death." I will adde the censure which is given of this Book by the authors of the Belgick Expurgatory Index. "In many old Catholick writers" (say they) "let us tolerate, extenuate, and excuse their errors; oftentimes framing some devise, let us denie them; or put some fitting sense upon them, when they are brought and oppos'd against us in disputation by our adversaries. And wee see not why Bertram should not deserve to have the same recognition and equitie, least hereticks should talk and say. that wee prohibit and refuse the books of Antiquitie that make for them. Besides, wee feare least this Booke, if it should be interdicted, would be the more eagerly read, and more odiously alledged, not only by hereticks, but also by Catholicks, that will not be under our command; and so, being forbidden, it would doe more hurt then if it be permitted." In the end of their censure, these words are worth the noting:—"And yet wee confesse that Bertram, in the time when he lived, did not know that Accidents may subsist without a Substance; nor other matters, which the after ages most subtilly and truly added." And fol. 1137. § 2. "Read *Invisibly* for *Visibly:*" and after, § 36. "(Forasmuch as concerneth the substance of these creatures, they remaine after consecration the same which they were before) these words are to be understood according to the externall shew or Accidents of the Sacrament, &c." that is, they will have the Substance to be an Accident. Which manner of dealing with the ancient Catholick and learned writers, whether it be candid or just, or no, I leave to the judgment of any equall and judicious person.

And here an end with this Age. For I omit Florus of Lions, together with Hincmarus the Archbishop of Rhemes, and Rabanus Maurus, the Archbishop of Mentz, whom I might produce as giving testimonie to the same truth which we mainteyne. But I think by this time I have exceeded the number of 1220 Fathers imposed upon me by the author of *Transubstantiation Mainteyned:* and were it not that I have undertaken to goe through all Ages till the pretended Councel of Lateran, I should here give over, and make account that I had done this part of my worke. The rest then shalbe *ex abundanti.*

CHAP. XI. *The testimonies produced out of the Writers in the Tenth Age.*

Wee will for this Century alledge only the testimonie of our owne Church of England; for there were few or no writers abroad of any name or account during the whole Age, which made Cardinall Baronius call it the iron and leaden Age of the Church.

But in England there was a Sermon made by Ælfrick, and receiv'd by 18 Bishops of the English Church, compos'd in the Saxon tongue, and appointed by the Bishopps to be read in all Churches to the people yeerely upon the Feast of Easter. In that Sermon* this was the Catholick doctrine which they taught us concerning the Eucharist, and the Sacrament of Baptisme. "In Baptisme there be two things. According to nature, it is corruptible water, but by mysticall benediction it hath power to sanctifie. After the like manner, in the Holy Eucharist, that which we see is Bread, and a corruptible body; but that which wee *spiritually* understand is life, and giveth immortalitie. There is much difference betweene the virtue of the invisible Host, and the visible forme of its owne proper nature. By nature, the Bread is corruptible, and the Wine is corruptible; by the Power of God they are truly the Body and Bloud of Christ, and yet not so neither *corporally*, but *spiritually*." Certainly wee have not departed from our forefathers in mainteyning that Catholick doctrine now, which they then taught and delivered to the people, as from their forefathers they had receyved it.

CHAP. XII. *The attestation of the* XI^th^. *Age.*

We are now past a thousand yeeres, during all which time, neither the word, nor the force and sense of the word, *Transubstantiation*, was ever nam'd or heard of in the Church.

Theophylact lived in this Age, who upon the 14 of S^t^. Mark doth not say that the Bread is *substantially* but *virtually* changed, or as he expresseth himselfe "into the virtue of the Bodie of Christ." And so say wee. Theophylact. A^o^. 1056.

And so said Elias of Crete, (he that wrote the notes upon St. Greg. Nazianzen, and lived also in this Centurie) copying out St. Cyril's words, "That our Lord transferred the things offered in the Eucharist into the virtue (ἐνέργειαν) of His Bodie and Bloud," after the same manner as St. Cyril (it was he of Alexandria) in his 2^d^. book Elias Cretensis. A^o^. 1020.

* Serm. Saxon. legend in Festo Paschat. A^o^. Dñi. 990.

upon St. John. c. 42. had said, "That the water in Baptisme was changed (μεταστοιχειοῦται) into a Divine virtue."

Berengarius. A°. 1059.

The case of Berengarius, Archdeacon of St. Maurice in Angiers, is famous in this Age. I wilbe bold to alledge him, (him and the Church of Rome it selfe) in the profession that he made by the decree and consent both of Pope Nicholas the 2d. and of the whole Roman Councel* then gathered together, concerning the true and reall presence of Christ's Body and Bloud in the Eucharist, That both he and the Councel, wherein there were 113 Bishops, (who then declared the faith of the Roman Church) were against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, what error soever they fell into at the same time notwithstanding. For, (because I must not say it, but prove it) this was the confession which they forced him not only to make in that Councell, but to confirme it also with an oath †: "I consent to the Holy Roman Church, and to the Sea Apostolick, and I professe both with my mouth and with my hart, that concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Table I hold the same faith which my venerable Lord Pope Nicolas and this Holy Synode hath given and confirm'd unto me to be held: that is to say, That the Bread and Wine which are placed upon the Altar, after consecration, are not only a Sacrament, but also the True Bodie and Bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are *sensually*, not in a Sacrament only, but in veritie and truth, handled and broken by the hands of the priests, and torne by the teeth of the faithfull." Which strange doctrine, though it was then so decreed by the Pope and a Councell at Rome, is not now (I trow) the present doctrine of the Roman Church. That either "the Bread and Wine are the true Body and Bloud of Christ," (which by the judgment of those Roman divines‡ that are here quoted in the margin, is a very false proposition) or that "the Body and Bloud of Christ are sensually handled, broken, and torne with the teeth," which is a thing so offensive and horrid to the eares of all good Christians, that the Glosser upon the same decree giveth us warning of it, and telleth us plainly§, "Unlesse we understand the words of Berengarius" (he might have said of Pope Nicolas and the Roman Councel) "in a sound sense, wee shall fall into a greater heresie then that which he mainteyned before."

But what interpretation soever may be found out to qualifie and extenuate this latter part of that decree and profession, cer-

* Concil. Roman. sub Nicol. II. A°. 1059.

† In Actis ejusdem Conc. & Cap. *Ego Berengar.* Dist. ii. *de Consecr.*

‡ Aquin. part iii. q. 75. art. 5. Scot. in iv. d. 11. q. 1. art. 5. Pet. de Aliac. in iv. q. 6. art. 1. Dom. Sot. in iv. d. 11. q. 1. art. 5.

§ Gloss. in cap. citat.

tainly the former part of it (if yee mark it) overthroweth the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and cannot possibly consist with it. For if "the Bread and Wine after consecration be not only a Sacrament, but also the Body and Bloud of Christ," then are the Bread and Wine suppos'd to remaine as a Sacrament, and not to be annihilated, or vanish'd cleane away, both in matter and forme, as they must of necessitie be, if they be transubstantiated, and nothing left remayning but the Flesh and Bloud of Christ alone. The decree of the Councel saith, that "the Bread and Wine are both," and both they cannot be, unlesse they *be* themselves: both they cannot be, if they be but one; nay, if they *be* not at all, (as the doctrine of Transubstantiation teacheth us*) they can be neither. Insomuch that Durand tells us, (upon the 4th. of the Sent. Dist. x. q. 1. num. 13.) "that Hostiensis and Gaufridus" (men that lived after this Councel) "said some men held, That the Substance of Bread doth still remayne in the Sacrament, together with the Body of Christ; and that this opinion was not condemned, referring themselves for it to the confession of Berengarius, which was approved by the Councel at Rome." And this approbation of Berengarius his profession, "That the substance of Bread doth still remaine, and is remayning with Christ's Body," (which makes indeed for some of the Lutherans' opinion, and was taken from the doctrine of Damascen and Paschasius) must of necessity condemne and overthrow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which saith expressely, "That after consecration, there is no Bread in the Sacrament at all."

And it is to be noted, That in this Age, though Guitmund and Lanfranc followed the opinion of Paschasius, and went somewhat further than he did, yet they went not so farre as the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which was not as yet set up in the Church †.

Guitmund. Aº. 1060. Lanfranc. Aº. 1050.

In the next Age, if wee heare of the beginnings of it, it will not be before the latter end of that centurie, a few yeeres before the pretended Councel of Lateran, and not then neither established, or introduced by any publick autoritie of the Church, as wee shall shew and prove here after.

* Conc. Trident. Can. ii. Sess. 13: "If any one say that the Substance of Bread and Wine remaineth together with the Body and Bloud of Christ, and denieth this admirable and singular conversion of the whole Substance of Bread into the Bodie, and of the whole Substance of Wine into the Bloud of Christ, (the species, or outward seeming shape of bread and wine only remayning) which conversion the Catholick Church calleth very fitly *Transubstantiation*, let him be accursed."

† Vide Joh. Yribarne, in iv. d. 11. q. 3. disp. 42. § 2.

CHAP. XIII. *The testimonies of the* XII^th^. *Age. In the latter end wherof Transubstantiation (as the doctrine and opinion of some private men only) began to be set afoot.*

In the beginning of this Age lived Rupertus, the learned Abbot of Tuits, not farre from Colen. It is well knowne what his opinion was in this matter; and though it seemed to be somewhat strange and new in the Church, yet apparent it is, that it was altogether contrary and repugnant to the present doctrine of Transubstantiation. For he held, that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist were hypostatically assumed by Christ, and united to Him after the same manner that He tooke our humane nature upon Him, and united it (as in One Person) to His Deitie, the two natures being, for all that, preserv'd in their owne proper essence. Wherin he went further then Theodoret and Gelasius did, and endeavouring to explicate the opinion of Paschasius more fully then he had done himselfe, taught "an assumption of the Bread by the Word of God to be His Bodie, as that which He had taken from the Blessed Virgin." In the meane while Transubstantiation was none of his faith.

Rupertus. A°. 1120.

Nor was it the faith of Peter Lombard, the Bishop of Paris, and the Master of the Schoole; for he tells us plainly, (in the 4^th^ of his Sent. Dist. 11.) "That what manner of conversion this is, whether formall or *substantiall*, or of *another kind*, he is *not able to define:*" which he might never have said, (nor would) if there had bin any such publick doctrine or faith in the Church as is now pretended ever to have beene, by them that mainteyne Transubstantiation to be an Article of the Catholick Creed.

P. Lombard. A°. 1159.

Indeed, we shall find in that Distinction, that there were some men in his time, who had disputed themselves into this opinion, "That after consecration of the Eucharist though the species of bread and wine remayned, yet the substance was not there." But it was but a schoole-point, and an opinion this; it was no doctrine of the Church. And these men tooke the notion of the word *Species* in another manner of sense then the ancient Fathers did. For St. Austen is cleere, (when he said*, "The Sacrifice of the Eucharist consisted of two things, the Visible Species of the elements, and the Invisible Flesh and Bloud of Christ,") that by "the *species* of the elements" (as he explicateth himself by a resemblance of the two natures of Christ †) he meant not the

* S. Aug. in lib. Sentent. Prosperi, *de Consecr.* d. 2.
† Sicut Christi persona constat ex Deo et Homine.

Accidents of Bread and Wine without the Substance, but *the nature and veritie of the things themselves* *, whereas these men (and their followers to this day) understand by the *Species* certaine outward shewes of Bread and Wine, and no inward nature or veritie of them at all: which, (if it were true) would be for the advantage of those hereticks that said, Christ had a phantasticall body, or the outward shape, and not the true nature of a body; against which the Catholicks, even by this resemblance of the Eucharist, that is, by the veritie of the two things conteyned in it, have firmly opposed themselves.

From these men's schoole (the men that were for the new *Species*) came one Stephen, Bishop of Austun, who, in his book *Of the Sacrament of the Altar*, was the first (for there is none to be found before him) that spake of "Transubstantiating the Bread and Wine into the Bodie and Bloud of Our Lord." An expression so pleasing to Innocent the third (Pope of Rome not long after) that he thought good to insert it into one of those 70 Canons which he proposed to the Councel of Lateran; but which many of the Councel so misliked, that there could be no agreement about them; nor was there (by that Councel) any decree or canon made of them, as I shall prove more at large, when I come by and by to answere the pretended autoritie of 1200 Fathers and Bishops, which the author of *Transubstantiation Mainteyned*, to make his number the greater, hath, out of this Councel, produced against us.

Circà annum 1180.

Conc. Lateran. Aº. 1215.

In the meane while, to put a conclusion to this part of my taske, which he hath imposed upon me, (requiring to have 1220 Fathers brought against him) and to confirme what I said at first, That the doctrine of Transubstantiation was new and unknowne to the ancient Church, let him be patient to heare the confession of the English Jesuites †, who acknowledged, "That the Fathers did not so much as touch upon the thing or matter," (which is more then the name) of Transubstantiation."

* Ex his duobus conficitur sacrificium, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Christi carne et sanguine. Et omnis res illarum rerum naturam et veritatem in se continet, ex quibus conficitur. Ibid.

† Discurs. modestus, p. 13, et Watsoni Quodl. ii. a. 4, p. 31: "Rem Transubstantiationis antiqui Patres ne attigerunt quidem." To which purpose many more late authors of the Romish Church shall be brought in the conclusion of the next part. [The second part of this Tractate has hitherto escaped the researches of the Editor.]

CVIII.—From Dr. Cosin to Dr. Steward. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 72 b.]

Paris, April 7, 1651.

Sir,

Yours of the 15 March (which was sent me by the L. H*.) begins with a complaint that you have not heard from me for a long time, wherunto I can returne no other answere but that I wrote to you not long since by Antwerp in Dr. Morley's† letter, afterwards by Mr. Crowther ‡ in his letter, and after that againe by a letter directed to yourself, at Mr. Browne's house in the Acheroom at the Hage.

In the last I tolde you somewhat of your votary, who wilbe (I feare) too volatile and slippery for either you or me to hold with any tye whatsoever §. You may doe well to propound such cases of conscience as I doe: whether it be lawfull to goe against one's conscience? to doe that wilfully which they know will offend God and all good people? to refuse the Sacrament at Easter in that church which yet they daily frequent? to beare us in hand they stay still with us to be satisfied, having before hand made a desperate resolution not to receive any satisfaction at all? but to delay a while for the credit of the cause, least it should look like a thing too rashly done; which yet was done at 2 houres warning after the letter (wherof I told you) had bin received, and some other such discontents suddenly reflected on? for this resolution (forsooth) was taken and told to others, (that will hold it fast) before ever either you or I must heare of it. If afterwards wee have any thing to say, they will give us the heareing, and then an end; but the affront shalbe the greater, for then it shalbe given out, that wee said what wee could and could avayle nothing. Yet for all this, if you will write, I have promise and vow both made to me that your letter shall not be seene by any other but

* Probably Lord Hatton, well known as Sir Christopher Hatton. He was created Lord Hatton in 1644. He was Comptroller of the King's Household. He died in 1670.

† Dr. George Morley, who became Bishop of Worcester in 1660, and was translated to the See of Winchester in 1662.

‡ Probably Joseph Crowther, B.D. Fellow of St. John's, Oxford. He was appointed Greek Professor in that University in 1648, but was not permitted by the Oxford Visitors to enjoy it. He was, however, reinstated after the Restoration. He was Chaplain to the Duke of York, and in 1664 was appointed to the Principalship of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. He died in the Fleet Prison, into which he was thrown by Sir Thomas Draper, for refusing to renew a lease, which he designed to run out for the benefit of the Church.—See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. Part ii. p. 50. See also Athenæ Oxon.

§ This no doubt refers to Lady Kynalmeaky. See *antè*, p. 230, *note*.

the party alone to whom you send it, and to mee. And truly it were not amisse if you wrote a chiding (no perswading) letter, for that may perhaps doe some good *.

Your G. [? *gold*] is still safe. I would I knew how to doe more service then I have done for you with the L. H. [? *Lord Hatton.*] who sayes he wilbe true to you, but complaynes every day for want of money, which the sequestrator delayes still in the tenants' hands. They talk much here of my L[ord] Jerm[yn] going into Scotland, whether the K[ing] hath earnestly invited him, but I know not what to believe of it. The D[uke] of Y[ork] is not yet provided for here, and till that be, he will not

* Dean Steward accordingly wrote the following letter to Lady Kynalmeaky [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 75.], remonstrating with her on her intended lapse.—Madam,—Your Ladyship hath oblig'd me much to let me know what is objected against me at the Louvre, which, beleive me, Madam, I shall take off with much ease and clearnesse so soon as I can have the honour to wait upon her Majesty. In the meane time I presume the Queen will not condemne a person unheard, and an old servant too, because I conceave her Majesty to be a just Princesse.

But I am much more trobled for your Ladyship then for myselfe; because I read these words in your letter: "whatever chang may happen unto me,"—and I find them commented on by more handes then one, that they meane a chang in religion. I cannot here discourse of any particular point, because I know not what it is that now shakes your Ladyship, but doe assure my selfe, that as you have had experience enough of the weaknesse of such suggestions, so there is one by you sufficiently able to answeare all new onsetts that the subtilest preist in France can make. Madam, aske your owne heart if there be no discontent, or by secular end, that has brought you into this staggering, and if you discover it, (as you know what hath pass'd some yeares since) take heed you againe fall not, and the second time irrecoverably, into temptations of blasphemy, that will at length end in flat atheisme. 'Tis a poore thinge, Madam, and unworthy the candor not only of a Christian, but of any person that pretends to honor, to resolve first to leave us without so much as consulting with our preists, and then to pretend to admit of discourse only to this end to take occasion to deride it, as if so goodly a victory were the most meritorious entrance into a religion that commaunds simplicity. I charg not your Ladyship with this, but only aske you, whether, either in your reading or experience, you have not hit upon a person guilty of this very particular? And 'tis a riddle to me, knowing your Ladyship as I doe, and having heard you dislike it in others, that you still come dayly to our prayers, and commonly to no other, and yet refuse to receave the Holy Eucharist at our handes. Cut no feathers with God, Madam, least you cut more then your fingers: your understanding is too sharpe not to descry the obliquity of this carriage, though others may be the more borne with, because they know lesse. The Christian Religion was not made to serve turnes, and therefore stay where I left you, Madam, and remember what I told you when you stumbled at first, that it would troble you on your deathbed to have left a Church that gave you Christ's whole Institution, to imbrace another that will rob you. And if conscience move not your Ladyship (which yet I will not beleive) take at least some care of your honor, which will highly suffer, Madam, by this moonelike carriage in religion: and to please your selfe that you can tell others that honor is to be sacrificed to your conscience and salvation, is pretty, if while you hope to perswade others to beleive what you affirme, you are sure enough that you beleive your selfe. God of His infinite goodnesse shew you the way you ought to take, is the prayer of Madam, your Ladyship's most humble servant, Rich. Steward.—Breda, Ap. 19. 1651.—For the right honourable y^e^. Lady Viscountesse Kinelmechy, These.

be invited higher *. The alterations are many in the French Court, but I have no skill in them.

Dr. Dunc[on] † is gone againe into Italy, and I am left here alone, where the weekely taske that I must live on will kill me, as it has already made me as leane as Lent.

When the D[uke] has wherewithall, it wilbe very graciously done of him to supply the wants of them that need ‡.

Sir, I am
Your most affectionate and humble servant,
J. C[OSIN].

M^ris. Hodges sends her service, and her receipt here inclosed. I pray, Sir, let this letter inclosed be given or sent safely to Dr. Morly, as soone as may be. I know not where he is.

"For my R^d. friende, Mr. Deane Steward, Deane of the King's Chappell, These, in Holland, at Breda, or the Hage."

CIX.—FROM DAEN STEWARD TO DR. COSIN. [Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 73.]

Hage, May 24. 1651.

SIR,

THE Duke's § invitation to France being yet, it seemes, uncertain with you, hath staid him now at this place, and though his H[ighness] should come to you, I am in some doubt whether I shall attend him or no; for some reasons I shall acquaint you with when it shall please God that we may meet: but for the wordes of Sir H. Wo ||: I heed them not, being a person that altereth his mind with the time, as the French doe their exchang of monies.

By way of answeare I have receav'd my L[ady] Kil. ¶ letter,

* "When the King went for Holland, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own person into Scotland, he had left his brother the Duke of York with the Queen, with directions that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his mother, matters of religion only excepted."—Clarendon's Hist. iii. 300. ed. 1704.

† This may be Dr. Eleazar Duncon, Prebendary of Durham (See *antè*, p. 200, *note*), though, if so, Hutchinson's statement (for which, however, he cites no authority), that he died in exile in 1650, must be erroneous.

‡ Lord Clarendon's account corroborates the accuracy of Cosin's statement. He tells us that the King was "much disquieted by the necessities in his brother the Duke of York's family."—Hist. iii. 339.

§ The Duke of York. || Probably Sir Henry Wootton.

¶ There can be little doubt that Lady Kynalmeaky is meant, and probably the following letter is the one referred to:—REVEREND SIR, I durst not show the Queene what you sayd concerning the King and her selfe, till she had begun to reade the booke you spake of (which I much long to reade) and truly, though she

which I pray thanke her Ladyship for, and let her know that I therefore reply not, least I should be troblesome to no purpose, but when the gayety of this new chang is pass'd, I hope to find a time when it may be for her good to troble her, especially if the good newes which we lately heard from Scotland be true; but I must heare more before I send it you. Pray keepe the letter safe by you which I sent her.

I have acquainted Mr. Crowther with the bookes provided for the Princesse Royall*, and that they are to be put into Sir Edward Hyde's† hands, of whose entertainment with you I pray send me worde in your next.

The sequestration I feare will signify but little, although it were taken off, as I sent you word not long since, nor know I what to say but that wantes will shortly, I feare, come upon me, and I may pinch while another hath so unworthily consum'd my mony. I shall not be so uncivill as to desire you to put your selfe to any troble for my sake that may hazard the good opinion you have with that Person, only pray still doe me the best offices you can without prejudice to your selfe, and send me word by the next whether, if the Duke come to Paris, that Person will not remove himselfe: for if I doe come to you I may perhapps tell him a tale in his eare. I extreamly pitty your condition, and would mend it did I know how, but those 2 divines I mervaile not at.

Sir, I am truly yours,

R. S[TEWARD.]

"For my reverend freind the
Deane of Peterburgh, at the Louvre."

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had newly bine readeing of it, and dryed her eyse, she broke freach into a greate weeping, and bid me tell you from her that she assured you that she had, and ever would have, a greate esteeme of you, setting aside your owne merit, for the esteeme she knew the King had of you, and truly this she spoke in a very kind way. I have told you the wordes as neare as I can put them into English, soe that I beleeve ther will be noething left for me to obey your commands in, being your freind to her Majestye. Wee expect every day to heare of his Majestye's remove towardes this place. None waites for it with more impatience then, Reverend Sir, your most humble and faithfull servant, E. KYNALMEAKYE.

I humbly thanke you you have done all that can be done for the Deane of Peterborough. Pray present my service to Mr. Secretarye Longe, and doe me the favour to speake to him to doe Mrs. Freeman, the Kinges Mrs. of the Landrye, all the good and favour he can.—Aprill the 16th.—For the Reverend Deane, the Deane of the Chapell to his Majestye.—[Mickleton MSS. xxvi. 76.]

* Henrietta-Maria Stuart, Duchess of Orleans and Anjou, fourth and youngest daughter of King Charles I., born 16 June, 1644, died 1670.—Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 574. ed. 1677.

† Lord Clarendon.

CX.—Extract from Evelyn's Diary relating to Dr. Cosin*. [Smith MSS. Bodl. Lib. xxiii. 7. p. 29.]

Extract out of my Diary: Paris.

1651. 1 of June, Trinity Sunday.

The Dean of Peterborough preach'd on xx John, 21, 22, That no man might assume to himself the ministry; but was to receive it, for 'tis said *Receive*, not take, *the Holy Ghost*, and our Lord Christ breath'd on His Apostles, inferring from hence the use of Ceremonys in the Church, on this and other solemn occasions, lawfully impos'd and recommended by the Superintendents and Governors of the Church for decency, order's sake, and edification: such as the laying on of hands, and other rites, as accompanied the inflation, &c. After this followed the ordination of two young students, Mr. Durell, since Dean of Windsor, and Mr. Brevint, both of Jersey, after the Restoration Prebendary of Durham, who had passed their Academick studys att Caen, or Saumur, I know not whether.

The old and venerable Bishop of Galloway† setting forth the dignity and weight of so sublime a calling as that to the ministry of the Gospel, previous to which he had made a very learned discourse concerning the orders and decrees of such as were admitted teachers and sufficiently quallifyd and approv'd in the Primitive times, and antient church; concluded with an exhortation to the persons to be ordain'd, and the necessity of supplying the wants of the Church of England, lyeing under the persecution and calamity then tending to a total desolation, and the reproaches of the Roman Church, and other enemys and enthusiasts, and so few Bishops remaining amongst the English clergy, as durst publickly own this important service, by which the people were depriv'd of their lawfull pastors, wandering about and every day perverted by the new preachers under the usurpers. Upon which it was thought expedient those two persons (examin'd and qualifyd with good testimonials) shou'd be made Deacons and Priests att the same time. The Bishop being all this time seated in an arm'd chair near the altar cover'd with

* A copy of this is found amongst the Baker MSS. (xxxvi. 28). It is erroneously called in the Catalogue an Extract from *Cosin's* Diary. But the Paper in the Smith MSS. is in Evelyn's handwriting. The same account, with some few differences, is recorded in his published Diary.

† Thomas Sydserf, a prelate of great worth and learning. He was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh, and Bishop of Brechin, in 1634, and was translated from thence to the see of Galloway. On the Restoration he became Bishop of Orkney.—See Stephen's Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland, Vol. i. pp. 541—545. 627. 653.

purple damask, and a canopy of the same. The Deane of P[eterborough] presenting the two persons to the Bishops, proceeded with the Office or Ordination &c. There was an infinite croud of people, both French and others, who came out of curiosity, as well as such of the English Clergy, as were in Paris and of his Majesty's chaplains then in waiting, and assisting the Bishop with all decency and becoming gravity. There was also the Holy Sacrament, which I forgot to mention in its place, att which, I think, all the English communicated.

The wholy ceremony and service was perform'd in Sir Richard Browne's Chappell in the Fauxbourgs St. Germain, att whose table they all din'd, Bishop, Dean, &c.

22^{d}. Came my cousin T. Keightly (newly return'd from Rome) to give me a visit. He had been made a Romish proselyte some months, and now from a young gallant was become a zealous bigott.

24th. The Deane of P[eterborough] (under whose Presidentship my kinsman had been att Cambridge formerly) preach'd on the xv of S. Luke, 5, concerning the lost sheep *.

The next day the Deane, with Dr. Earl, (Clerk of the Closett) came to my chamber to confer with my cousin, about the change of his religion: but this making him very uneasy and unwilling to enter into dispute with two so learned Divines, he desir'd he might have the assistance of a friend of his of the Roman Clergy; so a day was nam'd (I think the next) and the Deane desir'd it might be att the Louvre, where he had a competent library upon occasion; but this was alter'd, for fear the Queen-Mother of England shou'd be offended, who had her chappel near it, so that my lodging in the Resident's house was pitch'd upon for this conflict. My kinsman brought with him one Coniers, (a Friar) to dispute with the Deane, who finding himself worsted upon every point, was forc'd to use a thousand subterfuges,—the Church of England not visible, no due ordination or succession, &c. and att last to have recourse to miracles, by which my cousin proselyte was pretended to be converted, a sick man being restored to health by the application of some famous relique, with aboundance of such stuff: and thus my kinsman with his champion breaking up the dispute in confusion enough, as they commonly doe, went shortly after in England, where, with one nam'd Sergeant, a R[omish] Priest, he perverted his elder brother, and others of his

* Cosin seems to have been a frequent preacher. Evelyn records a sermon which he had preached on the Whitsunday in this year, the subject of which is worth noting:—"1651. May 25. The Dean (of Peterboro') preach'd on the feast of Pentecost, perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin." —Diary: (ed. Bray.) i. 252.

relations, to the infinite affliction of his parents, and my self, whose mother was my God-mother.

Octob. 12. The Deane of Pet[erborough] preach'd in our chapel on xiii Job, 15, and took occasion to apply much of his discourse for the comfort and establishment of several of the Q. Mother's servants, who being dismissed from their places in her court, unless they wou'd goe to mass, were preparing to goe for England, where they might possibly be in as much danger among the Fanaticks, to the prejudice of their loyalty and religion. The Communion follow'd.

It was upon this day that Mr. Deane, dining (as usually he did) at the Resident's, and speaking (amongst other things) of the little pray'r book, (which the puritans used to call Cousin's cousining devotions) I ask'd him the occasion of its being publish'd, which was this*: the Queene coming over into England, with a great traine of French ladys, they were often upbraiding our English ladys of the Court, that, having so much leisure, trifled away their time in the antichambers among the young gallants, without having something to divert themselves of more devotion; whereas the Ro: Catholick ladys had their Hours and Breviarys, which entertained them in religious exercise. Our Protestant ladys, scandalized at this reproach, it was complained of to the King. Whereupon his Majesty called Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forme of prayers amongst the antient Liturgys proper on this occasion, that so the Court ladys might att least appear as devout as the new come-over French. The Bishop told the King it might certainly be done, and believed it very necessary: whereupon his Majesty immediately commanded him to employ some person of the Clergy to sett upon the work, and compose an Office of that nature. The Bishop presently named Dr. Cosin, (whom the King exceedingly approv'd of) to prepare, as speedily as he cou'd, and as like to their pockett Offices, as he cou'd with regard to the antient forms before Popery.

This, Mr. Deane told me, he did three months after, bringing the book to the King, who commanded the Bishop of London to read it over, examine, and make his report; which was so well lik'd and approv'd, that the Bishop (contrary to the usual custome of referring it to his chaplain) wou'd needs give the *Imprimatur*

* Hujus rei historiolam primum familiari sermone, deinde scripto consignatam, mihi communicavit V. C. Joannes Evelinus, Armiger, notissimæ et celeberrimæ apud Nobiles Anglos, ob sublime ingenium, ob insignem Philosophiæ naturalis culturam, ob denique strenuum felixque politioris literaturæ studium, prout libri ab illo editi faciunt testatissimum, famæ, eam ab ore D. Cosini antè quinquaginta annos Parisiis edoctus.—Smith's Vita Joannis Cosini, p. 5. *n* (b). This accounts for a portion of Evelyn's Diary being found amongst Smith's Papers.

under his own hand. There were at first but 200 printed, nor, sayd he, was there any one thing in the whole office of my own composure (nor did I sett the name of any one as author) but those necessary prefaces, (the rest all taken out of those antient Liturgys) touching the times and seasons of prayer, &c. The rest being wholy collected and translated by authority of Q. Elizabeth, 1560, and our own liturgys. This, tho' never so innocently design'd, occasion'd the Deane a great deal of obloquy, as if he had done it of his own head, and for which he was look'd upon as papist, who had recover'd so many from Popery, and confirm'd and establish'd them in the Church of England.

It was about the latter end of Decembr. this year, that the Deane unhappily suffered his son John * (by I know not whose perswasion) to learn his grammar rules, &c., att the Jesuits' schole, where they made him a Papist. At this his father being extreamly griev'd, the youth writt to me, to intercede for him, and pacify his father, with a great deal of stuff dictated by the Jesuits to justify his conversion (as they call'd it). This letter I answer'd to my no small trouble, a copy of it being purposly dropt in the Queen's Bed-chamber.

CXI.—Royal Letter to Dr. Cosin. [Clarendon Papers: in the Bodleian Library.]

Trusty and wellbeloved, Wee greete you well. Havinge it in our purpose shortly upon our urgent occasions to remove our Residence from this place, Wee have thought fitt to lett you know, that as wee have to our singular satisfaction and content observed your piety and zeale in the constant professing and vindicating the Religion of the Church of England from the false imputations and calumnyes cast upon it by the enemyes therof, of severall kinds, and in the dew and diligent upholding the exercise of devyne Service, according to the fforme established by the lawes

* Cosin's only son, who, to the great and lasting grief of his father, became a member of the Church of Rome. But this account of Evelyn's that he learned his "grammar rules" at the Jesuits' School can scarcely be correct, for he appears to have been educated at the Cathedral School of Peterborough, where his father was Dean. We learn this from the Matriculation Book of Peterhouse:—"An. 1649, April 26. Johannes Cosin, Dunelmensis, annos quindecim natus, in scholâ Cathedrali Petroburgi educatus, examinatus et approbatus, admissus est Pensionarius ad primam mensam scholarium, sub tutelâ Doctoris Franci." He writes a long letter to Evelyn in December 1651, on the subject of his conversion, probably the one mentioned in the text, which is printed in the "Correspondence" of the latter, (vol. iii. p. 58. ed. Bray. 1852) as also in the "Fairfax Correspondence," ii. p. 313. His father's arguments reclaimed him for a time, but he finally deserted the Church of England, soon after Cosin's elevation to the Episcopate.

of that our Kingdom, so Wee do in an especiall manner recommend it to you to continue the same your care and diligence in the performing all devyne offices to all those our servants of the protestant religion in the family of our Royall Mother the Queen, and in keeping up that fforme of Service in our Chappell, at our Residents house here, to the end that no discountenance or discouragement, in these ill tymes, may dissolve that congregation, of the which Wee have likewise given a charge unto our sayd Resident, holdinge our selfe to be the more obliged to use all possible means within our power for the maintenance and profession of that our religion in these tymes of slander, reproach, and persecution. And wee hope that God will so bless us, that wee shall be able to rewarde the service you have done, and the sufferings you have undergone for us; and, in the meane tyme, Wee shall take the best care for your subsistance and encouragement that is in our power to doe. And so Wee bidd you heartily ffarewell, &c. Given at the Lovar, the 27 of June 1652.

To Dr. Cosen.
(Endorsed)
Copy of y^e^ King's to Dr. Cosens June 27. 1652.

A Letter Drawn by Sr. E. H[yde] ordering Dr. Cosins to continue the Service of the Ch: of Eng[land] at the Chapel at the Resid^ts^. after his Maj: shall be gone.

CXII.—From Dr. Cosin to Mr. Sancroft *. [Harl: MSS. 3783. cxxxix.]

Sir,

I received the favour of your letter, and that which you were pleas'd to send with it, by the hands of this gentleman whom you recommended to me; and truly I am so much in love with him already that as I should have taken delight to doe him any service, so am I sory to part with him so soone. But what ever his suddaine revocations be, which will not suffer him to stay here any longer for the present, yet I thinke he goes away from us *cum animo revertendi;* and when I shall have the honour to see him againe, I will make it my busines to be better acquainted with him, and be ready upon all occasions to attend those good offices which you mention, or wherein I may be any way usefull and serviceable to him.

In the meane while, he will have the pleasure and benefit of being neere to you, whose religious and prudent instructions

* Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

have already render'd him so great a lover of virtue, and fix'd such principles of faith and good life in him, that by the grace of God he will remaine most constant and true to them all. I am right glad to heare still (as I have bin told by divers persons heretofore) how firme and unmov'd you continue your owne standing in the midst of these great and violent stormes that are now rais'd against the Church of England, which, for my part, notwithstanding the outward glory, and dresse that she had, be in these evill times taken from her, yet I honour and reverence above all the other churches of the worlde: for she beares upon her, more signally then any other that I know does, the marks of Christ, which, when all is done, wilbe our greatest glory.

For the favour which you sent me I render you many thanks, and though you call it *tantillum*, yet it will help me to a greater purchase then I should have bin able here to have made without it, *totus enim sum in conquirendis bonis libris.* And besides, the token is the more acceptable to me, because it comes from a person whose worth and virtue is at a high value with me, and of whose good acquaintance I have bin long desirous. Mr. Damport * (who truly is *ad mentem meam*) will say the rest, and tell you after what condition wee make shift here to live in this place, where I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,
J. Cosin.

Paris: Febr. 3
1656.
"For my very worthy and honor'd friend, Mr. W. Sandcroft,
at London."

(Seal of Arms—Cosin—
. . . a fret . . . .

CXIII.—From F. G. to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. Letters Latin, English, and French. 63.]

July 7. 1657.

Rt. Wor. and Worthy Sr.,

Yours of July 4 and 7th I have received. Your errand to Dr. Walton † I have delivered. His service and thanks to you. He would be glad to hear the Chanoine's answer.

Mrs. Cosins ‡ has had your books a good while ago to send to

* George Davenport, afterwards Chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, co. Durh.—See Surtees' Hist. Durh. i. p. 170.

† Probably Brian Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester. In the preparation of his polyglott Bible, published in 1657, he was assisted by Claude Hardy, resident at Paris. See his Preface (not paged).

‡ Cosin's eldest daughter, afterwards Lady Gerard.

you. I am most heartily sorry for these delayes, they might have been with you by this tyme I hoped.

I hear no more of Lazaro*. That Vice Chanc[ellor] was one Dillingham †.—I will shew that part of Mons. Daillé's letter to Mr. Fuller. I am glad you direct me to Mr. Allesterr—I hope his way of sending may be sooner then your daughters, for things hereafter sent.

Your 2 letters to B. S. and Mr. D^{r}. I sent to them. Here is enclosed a bill. The D^{r}. took very kindly what you writ, said you had don him a great kindness. He would pay 16^{li}. and so send Mr. Dean a peece for a token. His humble service to you. All your friends enquire of your health, and remember their most humble services.

Your Worship's in all service,

F. G.

"For Mr. Richard Forder, a la Poste a Paris.
"For Mr. Dean at Paris."

CXIV.—From Dr. Cosin to Mr. Sancroft. [Harl: MSS. 3783. cxl.]

Paris, June 26. 1659.

Sir,

By the order which you were pleased to give unto Mr. J. Abeels of Amsterdam, I have here at Paris received 119 crownes tourneis; which being so great a supply to my present condition, and comming from so good a hand as yours is, layeth a very great obligation upon me to returne you my most thankfull acknowledgment of your speciall kindnes and favour to me herein. It may well be that I am in this particular likewise beholden to Mr. Gayers, of whose generous freedome and *bontè* I have had divers testimonies heretofore. Mr. Abeel's letter names him not, but yet I heard from Mr. Damport some while since, that you and he were together at Utrecht, where I beseech God to send his best blessings upon you both. I have of late lost the force of my reading eye, (having never had but one for that purpose) and I am endeavouring every day, by the art and help of the most skilful oculists here, to recover it againe, wherof they put me

* Probably Lazarus Seaman, appointed Master of Peter House, Cambridge, by the authority of Parliament, 11 April, 1644, upon the ejection of Cosin.—Le Neve, p. 421.

† Theophilus Dillingham was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1655 and 1656.—Le Neve, p. 404.

in good hope, when the cattarhaque is once come to maturity, which they say will be about 8 or 10 months hence. In the meane while, not to be able to read (nor to write but by guesse, as now I doe) is the greatest misery that ever yet befell me. I desire Mr. Gayers and you to accept my thanks, and with the continuance of your good affection to me to let me have the benefit of your prayers, who am, Sir,

Your most assured and humble servant,
J. Cosin.

* "For my very much honor'd fr^d. Mr. William Sandcroft,
att Utrecht, or elsewhere,
These."

CXV.—From the Same to the Same. [Harl: MSS. 3783. cxli.]

Paris, Aug. 28. 1659.

Sir,

I have received yours of Aug. 9, but my sight is so obstructed (as it hath bin now these 5 or 6 months together) with a catarraque in both my eyes, that I cannot, without much difficulty, either read or write any letters. Yet I neglected not to make my acknowledgment in writing, and to give you thanks for what you ordered to be paid unto me here at Paris in June last, though it should seeme my letter is not yet come to your hands. And therfore I will here renew my thankfullnes to you againe, being more obliged to you for the severall good supplyes you have bin pleas'd to make and procure to me then I am any way able to recompense. And what I say to you, I beseech you say for me to Mr. Robert Gayer, whom I have great reason, among others that freely disperse their piety, to affect and honour. His intended journey and yours into Italy, (where you can see little els but vice and vanity,) if God blesse our hopes now begun in our owne country, will be soone at an end. For wee are here assured that there is in England a considerable armie of ten thousand about Chester, and divers others in severall parts of the Kingdome, that are resolv'd to put off their new masters, and to call in the King, who with his brother the Duke of York, is already gone that way, to attend God's good pleasure and blessing upon us all.

I am glad to heare from you that my history of the Scripture canon pleased you so well: but it was my late sitting up at nights to follow that work that lost me the vigour of my eyes, and will now retard me, till I recover my sight, from perfecting

any other such treatise, which I intended to publish, wherof that which Dr. Morley shewed you, if God give me leave, is like to be the first.

Of Dr. Duncon's purpose to doe any thing, either about our ordination or other subject, I never heard, and I give the lesse credit to that report which you had of him, because I have not heretofore observed any inclination in him to bend his studies that way, and now all his imployment is to make sermons before the English merchants at Ligorne and Florence, where (if your journey should hold through Italy) you will be sure to find him.

Of Mons^{r}. De Labadie I am able to say little, but I have bin inform'd here by those that knew him well, that he was never either Franciscan or Oratorian, but brought up a while among the Jesuites, whom he forsooke, and afterwards became a chanoine in Picardie, and a zealous preacher there, from whence, upon Cardinal Richlieu's displeasure stirr'd up against him, he remov'd to Languedoc, and changing his religion first became minister at Montaban, then at Orange, from whence he was invited to the French Congregation at the Chappel by Somerset house in London, but being offered better conditions at Geneva, there you find him. The motives of his conversion I have not seen, but they here that have both read them and know him well, though otherwise they speak well of him, give no great commendations of his books, and I shall not seek after them til my eyes be better able to read them then now they are.

Your inclosed letter to Mr. Abdy in London I sent away by the English post upon Wednesday last, and to morrow night I shall send the other by the Holland post to Mr. Honywood.

When the books that you have bought at Geneva, or ought els, come hither to my hands, I shall take care to preserve them safely for you, till you be pleased to dispose further of them. I write hastily at a guesse, with my eyes at my pen's end, the faults wherof you wilbe pleas'd to pardon, and to continue your good affection to, Sir,

Your most assured and humble servant,

J. Cosin.

My service humbly presented to Mr. Gayer.

"A Monsieur,
Monsieur Sandcroft, Gentilhomme Anglois, chez Monsieur Perrot,
Rue des Chanoins, à Geneve."

CXVI.—From Dr. Morley to Dr. Cosin. [Mickleton MSS. Letters Latin, English, and French. 61.]

Breda, Feb. 10. [1659–60.]

Sir,

I have been in your debt for your last, longer a great deal than I would have been, but that I was put every week in hope to be enabled to give you a better account of the King's business both here and at home than I can do as yet. For though, upon Monk's first beginning to march, wee made almost no doubt but he would declare for the King, or at least for a free parliament, in order to a treaty with the King, (which seems to be the sense of London and the whole Kingdom,) yet this week's and last week's letters have given us cause more than to doubt the contrary, unless Monk be a much more artificial dissembler than those that know him best do take him to be; for he openly declares for the present Rump*, as they call it, of a parliament, and for a Commonwealth, hoping perhaps, as having served in these countries, that if there be such a form of Goverment in England, as there is here, that he shall be the Prince of Orange in it; but he will find it a harder work than he takes it to be, for I have seen a letter of a very late date, from a very good hand in London, that assures us that Haslerig is joyned with Lambert and Vane lately his open and great enemies, intending to arm the Anabaptists and all other the Sectaries to oppose (though he have declared for this parliament) and all others that have or shall declare for a free parliament, or that favour Monarchy, and with these Lawson† and the Fleet are likely to joyn, Lawson being much dis-

* Monk took possession of the City on the 9th Feb., 1659-60. On the 11th Feb. Evelyn writes,—"A signal day. Monk perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, and where he and his forces were quartered, marches to Whitehall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved; and for joy whereof were many thousand of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night, with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen."—Diary (ed. Bray, 1850), i. p. 335. Cf. also Pepys' Diary, i. p. 26 (ed. 1848).

† Afterwards Sir John Lawson. He was of obscure parentage, but, being bred to the sea, rose to great eminence as a naval commander, and signalized himself in all the battles against the Dutch during the Protectorate. He was committed to the Tower by Cromwell in 1657, on account of his intrigues against the Usurper. Cromwell's death released him, and he entered warmly into Monk's measures for the Restoration. On the return of Admiral Montague from the Baltic, Lawson was selected as the fittest person to take the command of the fleet. One of Charles II.'s first acts was conferring the honour of knighthood upon him. Sir John Lawson died of wounds received in action in 1665.—Cf. Whitelock's Mem. p. 698.

gusted with this parliament for their declaring for Tithes. In a word, all seems to tend to a general confusion, unless Monk, upon this arming of the Sectaries, do joyn with London, and the rest that would have a free parliament, which perhaps for all this, he may, and some that should know best think he will.

But this is the condition of things in England, and for the present neither is it better at Bruxells, there being not one penny come yet out of Spayne for the King, notwithstanding all Don Lewis de Haros promises, so that there was never greater want then there is now in the King's Court. Whether the promises from France (which they say are great too) will be better performed or noe, I know not. I thank you for the relation you gave me of the manner of my Ld. Percye's* death. I wish it had been better, but it was reported worse. I am heartily sorry that your eysight continues still so bad. I hope the comeing on of the spring may ripen the cataract for the cure. I am very glad the King was at the Protestant Churches, which gives great satisfaction to those Ministers here to whom I have told it. I wish there were not some of our Clergy too rigid in that particular†. Sir, you have my prayers, I beg yours for

Your affectionate friend and servant
GEOR: MORLEY.

Pray let Mr. Foorder deliver the inclosed to Mr. Palmer ‡.

"A Mons^r.
Monsieur Richard Foorder Anglois pour faire tenir a
Mons^r. le Dr. Cosens a Paris."

CXVII.—FROM THE BISHOP OF ELY § TO THE SAME. [Mickleton MSS. Letters Latin, English, and French.]

SIR,

I HAVE dispatched the 7 Emissaries, and have returned them unto you as so many right Fellowes of that College ||, for the

* Henry Percy, son of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. He was made Governor of Guernsey in 1640, and was created, at Oxford, Lord Percy of Alnwick, by patent dated 28 June, 1644. He accompanied Charles II. in his exile, and was Lord Chamberlain of his household. He died in Paris unmarried in 1659.

† A Letter to Dean Stewart, which will be given in the Appendix, seems to bear out this statement.

‡ Possibly John Palmer, M.A., who became Archdeacon of Northampton in 1665.

§ Mathew Wren, so famous for his learning and loyalty, and his long imprisonment in the Tower.

|| Peterhouse, of which Wren had been Master, before his elevation to the Episcopate.

welfare wherof I make my dayley devotions. I trust in God they will ever be mindfull of my harty admonitions and will faythfully compose themselves to a true collegiat life, therein to serve God and his Chureh with all sincerity.

What further proceedings you shall make there, I hope to heare shortly from yourself, till when, and ever, that you may do well all, and prosper, is the dayly prayer of

Your very loving friend
MA: ELIE'.

Aug. 20. 1660.

I doubt not, but you look well to the last Clause of the Statute, Cap. 11°., that a competent number be in Holy Orders, as they should be.

"These
for my Reverend friend, Dor. Cosin the Deane of Peterborough,
and Master of St. Peter's Colledg in Cambridg."

APPENDIX.

I.—Letter from Dr. Mountague to the Duke of Buckingham.
[Cabala, p. 116, ed. 1663.]

May it please your Grace,

Your Highness vouchsafed at Windsor to let me understand that His Majesty, my Gracious Master and Sovereign, had taken me off from that trouble and vexation which, by some men's procurement, I was put unto in the House of Commons. They, as I understand, think not so, but intend to proceed against me so far as they can, as having returned his Majesty no other answer but that I was freed from imprisonment. It is true, that besides 20*l.* which the Serjeant had of me by exaction of fees, they bound me unto him in a bond of 2000*l.* to appear before them the first day of the next Sessions. I beseech your Grace that as you have been pleased to tie me unto your excellent, not onely self, but also most honourable sister, in that bond of obligation, as never was poor scholar to such worthies; so you would be pleased to let His Majesty understand the case, that by your means I may be absolutely discharged, with the re-delivery of my Bond from them whom I never offended, who (under correction) have nothing to do with me; and, as His Majesty's servant, be left unto himself, especially for that which was authorized by himself, and commanded by his Father, my late Master, of ever-blessed memory. If His Majesty will be pleased to call for their accusations against me, if I do not really and thoroughly answer whatsoever is, or can be, imputed to me out of my books, I will no further desire favour and protection of His Majesty, and your Gracious self, but be willingly left unto my enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather, because, through a grievous affliction of the collick and stone, I am not able personally to attend your Grace, whom, according to my most bounden duty, I daily recommend unto the Almighty, being more obliged unto your noble self, than ever to any one.

So remaining,
Most humbly at your Grace's service ever,
Ri. Mountague.

Petworth, July 29. [1625.]

(1.) If any, or all the Papists living, can prove, That the Roman Church, as it now stands in opposition to the Church of England, is either the Catholick Church of Christ, or a sound member of the Catholick Church,—

I will subscribe.

(2.) If any, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, That the Church of England, as it standeth at this day, is not a true member of the Catholick Church,—

I will subscribe.

(3.) If any, or all the Papists living, can prove unto me, That any one point, at this day maintained by the Church of Rome against the Church of England, was the received doctrine of the Catholick Church, or concluded by any General Counsel, or particular approved Counsel, or resolved of by any one Father, of credit, to be such, for five hundred years, at least, after Christ,—

I will subscribe.

Ri. Mountague.

II.—Inscription composed by Bishop Cosin, when Prebendary of Durham, for a Tablet over the Tomb of Beda*. [Hunter MSS. xiii. 16.]

In tabulâ in Eccl. Dunelm.

BEDA
Dei Famulus et Presbyter
Vir non minùs sanctitate quàm scientiâ
Venerabilis
hîc jacet.
Qui natus in territorio Monasterii
Girwicensis, quod nunc Jarow dicitur, cum esset annorum septem datus est Abbati Benedicto, et deinde Ceolfrido, ibidem educandus, cunctumque cum eo vitæ tempus, in ejusdem Monasterii habitatione, peragens, omnem meditandis Scripturis operam dedit, atque inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis, et quotidianam cantandi in Ecclesiâ curam semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere solebat.
Decimo nono autem vitæ suæ anno Diaconatum, et tricesimo Presbyteratum, utrumque à Sancto Johanne Beverlaco Archiepo Eborum suscepit.
Vir omni laude major.
De quo doctissimi illorum temporum homines hoc Elogium protulerunt:
Anglum in extremo orbis angulo natum
Ingenio suo universum orbem superâsse.

* The Tablet is no longer in existence.

Quippe qui omnium penè scientiarum et universæ Theologiæ arcana
penetravit, sicut opera ejus et volumina multa
orbi Christiano notissima
abundè testantur.
Quæ etiam illo adhuc viventi tanti nominis erant et autoritatis, ut
[ex] ejus Homiliis multa sacris lectionibus sunt addita,
et ubique in Ecclesiastico
Officio publicè et solenniter recitata.
Constat eum aliquando discipulos habuisse celebratissimos, præclara
paulò post Ecclesiæ lumina, ALCUINUM,
Caroli Magni Regis
præceptorem, et CLAUDIUM atq. CLEMENTEM,
qui primi Lutetiæ docuerunt, et Galliam bonis artibus
illustrârunt.
Obiit in Monasterio Girwicensi A°. D^ni. 734, Ætat: suæ 59,
Die quo Ascensionis DOMINI memoria celebratur,
et ibidem sepultus fuit.
Sed postea huc Dunelmum primò cum capite regis OSWALDI
et corpore S. CUTHBERTI,
Deinde in istâ Galileâ et feretro per HUGONEM Episcopum
constructo ossa ejus sunt translata.
Epitaphium de eodem istud circumfertur
HÂC SUNT IN FOSSÂ BEDÆ VENERABILIS OSSA.

III.—VERSES ADDRESSED TO QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA, ON THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, BY BISHOP COSIN, WHEN MASTER OF PETERHOUSE *.

Ad Serenissimam Reginam de Partu & Libro hoc Academico.

Quanquam nec Gremio sperat, Genibusve reponi,
Vel Manibus saltem posse sedere Tuis :
Est tamen ille Tuus, quem fert Academia, partus ;
Est Tuus, aut Natæ filius ille Tuæ.
Nonnunquam potuêre aliæ peperisse Gemellos ;
Tu (mirum) *nunquam non* peperisse potes.
J. C. *Pr. Coll. S. Petri.*

* From a Collection of Verses entitled "Carmen Natalitium, Ad cunas Illustrissimæ Principis Elisabethæ decantatum, intra Nativitatis Dom. solennia, per humiles Cantabrigiæ Musas." Cantab. 1635. 4°. By some inadvertence this loyal effusion was omitted in its proper place. It ought to have come, in chronological order, next after No. XCVIII. in the text.

IV.—The Doctor's last will and Testament: being a most pleasant dialogue between Doctor Cousin and a Fellow of his own Colledge, desiring him to resign his Mastership *.

The Doctor's last Will and Testament.

Fell. Reverend Doctor, both the President and all the rest of the Fellowes, Schollers, and Students in our Colledge, humbly remembring and presenting their service unto you even unto the finall event, doe beseech you to resigne the Mastership, that the Colledge may neither suffer detriments, nor the Collegiates disgrace by your immature death.

Cous. Sir, I congratulate your presence together with your message; I will fully answer your expectation therein, but you shall first permit me to transcurre some circumstances, which I would gladly have resolved unto me.

Fell. Ask and require what you please, 'tis your servant's duty to submit, and he will resolve you to the utmost of his intelligence.

Cous. What? does the Chapel retaine its former ornaments?

Fell. But few of them as yet are erected.

Cous. It argues then that some are neglected; and I pray thee what are those few? Does not the Crosse stand still? I hope they have not rejected the crucifix, have they?

Fell. Sir, that remaines, and have long expected your comming, although frustrated thereof.

Cous. My desires have been ardent, and my affection fervent to have come divers times to visit my Daughter, but these shackles (a poxe on the inventor of them) have drawne me backe; but if it remaines, doe they not worship it still, as in time past, when I was Patron over it?

Fell. Some red-hot zelots like yourselfe doe observe the ceremoniall rights, and ecclesiasticall innovations, and will not omit the least Canonicall duty, but do still bow as popishly to it, as ever you did yourself present.

Cous. I do extoll them with a meritorious collaudation.

Fell. But some others whose devotion is more pious and religious do despise it with a detestable contempt.

Cous. Why do you not punish them by restriction, and castigation? O why do ye not compell them by coercion?

Fell. 'Tis vanity for any man to command Arminianise to be observed by them whose consciences cannot digest it.

Cous. You say true indeed, for had not I commanded things contrary to men's consciences, I had never been sensible of this misery, to which now I am subjected, but what of the other ceremonies? do the pictures and graven images still remaine?

Fell. Those likewise as yet are not abolished.

Cous. That does somewhat relate the ambiguity of my thoughts; but doe they worship them too?

* Reprinted from a very scarce Tract, which bears the date of 1641.

Fell. Some have not the conscience to look upon them, and I have heard some say that they had rather see you hang'd there than the pictures in your roome.

Cous. What audacious impudence is this! why do you not compell them by more restriction? but does the Altar remaine still? and have ye not yet forgot to burne incense thereto, as in my time, wherein you were very diligent?

Fell. Pardon the insolent arrogancie of my too remisse toungue, I have heard some wish that you were sacrificed herein.

Cous. Oh! what audacity is this.

Fell. Suffer not passion to conquer thus thy captive thoughts, for 'tis a custome in the world to promulgate whatsoever their conceit nourisheth.

Cous. Well, let that passe. Does the Triple Crowne which I built in S. Marie's retain its splendent structure?

Fell. But I beseech you permit me to evacuate what my greedy mind desireth to disgorge unto you; I have heard many pray, that your head may be erected there to make up an even number.

Cous. This transcends human patience, for although I have been patient in many things, yet I remember that apophthegmatical sentence, *Læsa patientia fit furor.*

Fell. By the same patience, to which you have compelled many to subject themselves in your Pontificiall and Romish innovations, by the same patience I beseech you to elevate your depressed thoughts.

Cous. Since I see there is no remedy but patience, I must embrace that; but how fares the Fellowes of St. Peter's Colledge? what doe they judge of me?

Fell. Sir, they think that your Mastership's Canons will requoile, and their opinion is, that they ought to be new cast, for their Founder's misscarry.

Cous. There are many will performe that office for me; therefore I shall not need to sollicite myselfe in that point; but does the Colledge flourish in Schollers? are many fresh-men admitted since my departure?

Fell. We have not one Scholar admitted this twelvemonth, and God knows whether we shall have ever againe, as long as you beare the title of their Master, therefore the Colledge did desire me in all their behalfes to exhibite their supplication, beseeching you to resigne your Mastership to some deservable man.

Cous. I will grant your petition, with retribution of many thankes, that they are so careful and indulgent of the Colledge's prosperity.

Fell. You have spoken with a magnanimous spirit, excuse my insolence herein. Pray have you no hopes of recovering your imprisonment and restitution of your former fortunes?

Cous. Troth, but very little, all men are so maliciously incensed against me, that I despaire of that.

Fell. But do you think they will deprive you of your life?

Cous. That is ambiguous, but if I had had but thus much inteligence heretofore, I could have followed my good friend Finch over the Ocean.

Fell. I commend him for't, for if he had stayed any longer, he would have been put in a cage, but thou mightest have escapen with Windebancke.

Cous. There was such a tempestuous storm that I durst not venter.

Fell. I feare it will arise more tempestuous yet.

Cous. But I will not detaine thy negociating mind with any longer ambages, let this suffice thee, and solace the Colledge, with an expresse investigation of comfort that I doe with as great alacrity and cheerefulnesse of minde resigne my place to him who you shall most judiciously elect as ever I assumed that Title first. But one thing I shall desire thee to put in execution for me with all expedition. I will precurre the Breviary of my last Will and Testament, which I will make.

Fell. Sir, I highly commend the aspiring sublimit of your magnanimous mind, and for your benefactions which you shall bequeath to the Universitie, the resounding Eccho of your benevelous will shall redound and propagate to late posterity.

Cous. Imprimis, my true Divinity Bookes (of which I have but very few) I bequeath to the Universitie Library, that it may for ever flourish in the prosperous palme of Religion, and may never be more polluted with the contagious infection of Popery, as in my dayes it hath been now too much, God now avert it.

Fell. This benignitie God will recompense for your good will and affection bent to the famous Universitie.

Cous. Item, my Masse, Popish, and Romish bookes, of which I have many Volumes, I bequeath partly to the poore, that they may warme their fingers this following Winter by them on the Market-hill, partly to Tobacconists and Grocers, with the like of that profession.

Fell. I likewise commend thy charitable deeds to the poor.

Cous. Item, my pictures and Images I devote freely, and with all I divide, partly to the Apple-mongers, partly to Husbandmen, that they may be hang'd up to scare crows.

Fell. Sir, I think in my conscience that you will performe more commendable and laudable deedes at your departure in your will, than ever you did in your life time.

Cous. Item, I bequeath my liberty to the Miter, Crosse-keyes, and the Pope's head in Cambridge, for I did so often frequent those three places, that no scholler dare come but he should finde me there, wherefore now I set them all at liberty in this my Testament.

Fell. For that act you shall incur the prayers of many.

Cous. Item, I bequeath my honesty to all the women in Cambridge, for their children are so ingenious, that their Husbands are perswaded that they are not their owne.

Fell. Oh what blessings will the good men accumulate upon you for that benefit in giving chastity to their wives, for I have oftentimes heard that schollers would sometimes dispute with them in Folio.

Cous. Item, I devove understanding to the Maior, for he imployes himselfe so earnestly to the Plough and Cart, that he cannot understand the height of his office.

Fell. 'Tis the best gem that thou couldst have adorned him with, for riches or Authority without understanding is like a precious Jewell in a swine's snowt.

Cous. Item, my Bible in folio, with a comment, I bequeath to the Doctors, desiring them from my heart, that they would make truer use of it then ever I did.

Fell. That likewise is a meritorious deed.

Cous. Item, my Latin tongue I bequeath partly to the beadles that they may learn to speak true Latin, partly to Trinity Hall to the Lawyers, that they may write true Latin, and not break Priscan's head so often as they do.

Fell. They have both just cause to elevate thy judicious understanding above the Poles, for that thou hast given them the greatest benefit that could have been wisht for, whose way have beene too long obnubilated in obscurity, but thou hast reduced them from that error into the bright and irradiating path of wisdome.

Cous. Lastly I have three lives to bequeath, one life I devove to the Doctors and Bishops, that they may live to see the Church in a true Reformation. The second life I bequeath to Clare Hall in Cambridge, that they may live to see their Colledge built; the third and last life I could willingly bequeath to my self, that I might live and see these things performed.

Fell. I never heard a more ingenious Will composed, that thou shouldst leave thyself so rare a benefit, but I fear thy last wish will scarce be granted, thou shouldst have forseen that before, for now, alas, I fear it will be too late, and thou maist well expound the Apologation of the sentence to thyself. *Serò sapiunt Phryges.*

Cous. I leave that to the ambiguous rotation of doubtfull fortune, whose certainty is never more sound then in her own uncertainty. But for thy part labour with sedulous diligence, and diligent sedulitie, to avoid those pernicious enormities which I have falne into.

Fell. By God's divine providence and omnipotent assistance I will alwayes extirpate evill seeds out of the Church.

Cous. Well, I will now contract myself in brief: I beseech thee see my Will performed in diligent execution, and remember me in my last breath to the whole Universitie, desiring their pardon, and to the Colledge, desiring them at their pleasure to elect a new Master, for I resigne my title therein.

Fell. Let God Almightie with his heav'nly power,
Thus all th' enemies of the Church devoure.
And let him Pontificians all defame,
To propagate the Gospel of his name,

And we of thee a Master as we crave,
So a religious Doctor let us have:
Who will confirm the truth, and firmly stand
From all false doctrine that infects this land.
A Reformation let us now possesse,
And true Religion let us all professe.

FINIS.

V.—ALTERATIONS, IN COSIN'S HANDWRITING, IN THE MARGIN OF THE FIRST PAGE OF A COPY OF THE FORM OF PRAYER USED IN KING CHARLES IID'S CHAPEL AT THE HAGUE*. [From a Copy of the Form of Prayer in the Editor's possession.]

[*Opening Sentences.*] *Psal.* lj. 9. *Jer.* x. 24. *Mat.* iii. 2. A sorrowful spirit is a sacrifice to God. Despise not, O Lord, humble and contrite hearts.

Correct us, O Lord, and yet in thy judgment, not in thy fury, least wee should be consumed and brought to nothing.

Amend your lives, for the Kingdom of God is at hand.

The Exhortation.

The Conf. and Abs.

P'R N'R, &c. DN̄E *labia*, &c. GLORIA P'RI, &c.

Psal. i. Blessed is the man, &c. *Psal.* x. xi. xii. xiii. xiiii. Ev^{e}. lxxiiii. lxxx. xciii.

1 LESSON. *Lament.* iii. Ev^{e}. *Ecclus.* ii.

Te Deum laudamus.

2 LESSON. *Rom.* viii. *v.* 18, *ad finem.* Ev^{e}. *Heb.* xi. p^{t}. and xii. p^{t}.

Benedictus, Credo, &c.

I. COLLECT. Almighty and Everlasting God, which didst give such grace to thine Anoynted, our late dread Sovereigne, that in his Life and Death he confessed and shewed forth thy Truth in his humble and patient suf[fering], for the constant profession thereof, and who hast knit together thine el[ect in] one communion and fellowship in the mysticall Body of thy Son CHRIST our Lord: Grant us also grace [so to] follow him and all other thy saints, that we may come to those unspeakable joyes which thou has prep[ared for] them that unfeignedly love thee, through JESUS CHRIST our Lord. AMEN.

* This Form was printed at the Hague, by Sam. Brown, in the year 1650, under the title of "A Form of Prayer used in King Charles IId's Chapel at the Hague, upon Tuesdays throughout the year: being the day of the week on which King Charles I. was barbarously murdered, Jan. 30, 1648."

It is not improbable that Cosin altered it for his own use when officiating in the Resident's Chapel at Paris.

VI.—Letter from William Jackson to Dr. Richard Stewart.

Hague, $\frac{15^{o}}{25}$, Octobr., 1661.

Worthy Sir,

Your favour of the 7th of this moneth came to me as I was removing from Antwerps to this place, where I arrived the last weeke, and am like to contynue the most part of this winter, if I may be permitted it. The D[uke] of Buckingham came hither the last night in disguyse, and contynues soe, without making himself knowne to any but some few of his confidents, whereof I am none. All that are here of the presbiterian faction are still as fond to have it cherish'd as ever, and are practising, as sollicitously as may be, to have the king perswaded, if he shall come hither, not to come to the service of the Church of England, but rather to have none publiquely said. It's incredible to see how busy and carefull those of the presbitery are to provide that his Majestie (if he come) should forbeare to come to heare the booke of Common Prayer; and many even of those who professe that they are rather for the Church of England then for presbitery. I wishe you, or some other orthodox divines were with his majestie, to make him sensible that his declining from the profession of the true Religion, according to the Church of England, hath drawne God's punishment upon him; and to observe to him that his blessed father was never out of troubles from the tyme that he first gave way to the suppressing of Episcopacy in Scotland, and lost not his lief untill he had privately, by the perswasion of the last D[uke] Hamilton, consented to the setting up of presbitery in England, if the parliament there should agree to it. If soe visible tokens of God's displeasure against presbitery as wee have had in England will not move men to relinquishe that hypocriticall profession of religion, we can expect nothing but the contynuance of the miseries that are upon us.

I cannot fix my resolution where to winter until I shall heare what wayes and course his Majestie will take. The D[uke] of Buckingham had (I heare) with him only Mr. Layton, and one other, whome I know not. His Grace saith his Majestie is safe on this side the sea, but either cannot or will not tell where he is.

I shalbe very glad to heare some tymes from you, who may by Sir G. Ratcliff write to me very safely. Your landlord Mr. Hawis his wife was this last week delivered of 2 daughters at a birth, and both living. I am here lodged in Sir Ge. Ratcliff's chamber, and thoughe I now write in hast, I am most really and sincerely, without compliment,

Worthy Sir,
Your most humble servant,
Will. Jackson.

I pray present my most humble duty to the D[uke] of York, when you have opportunity.

For my Reverend friend, Dr. Stuart, Deane of his Ma^ties. Chappell, these, At Paris.

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